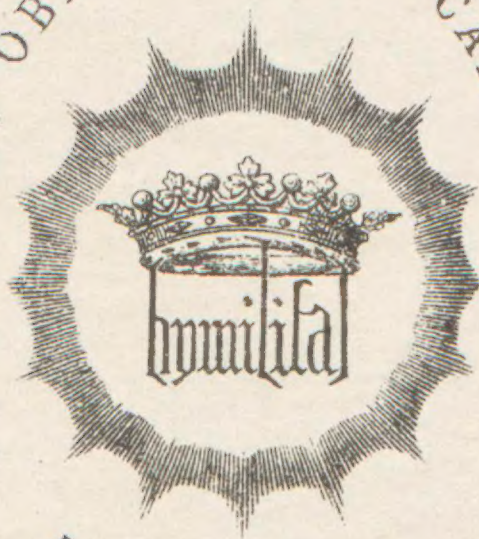


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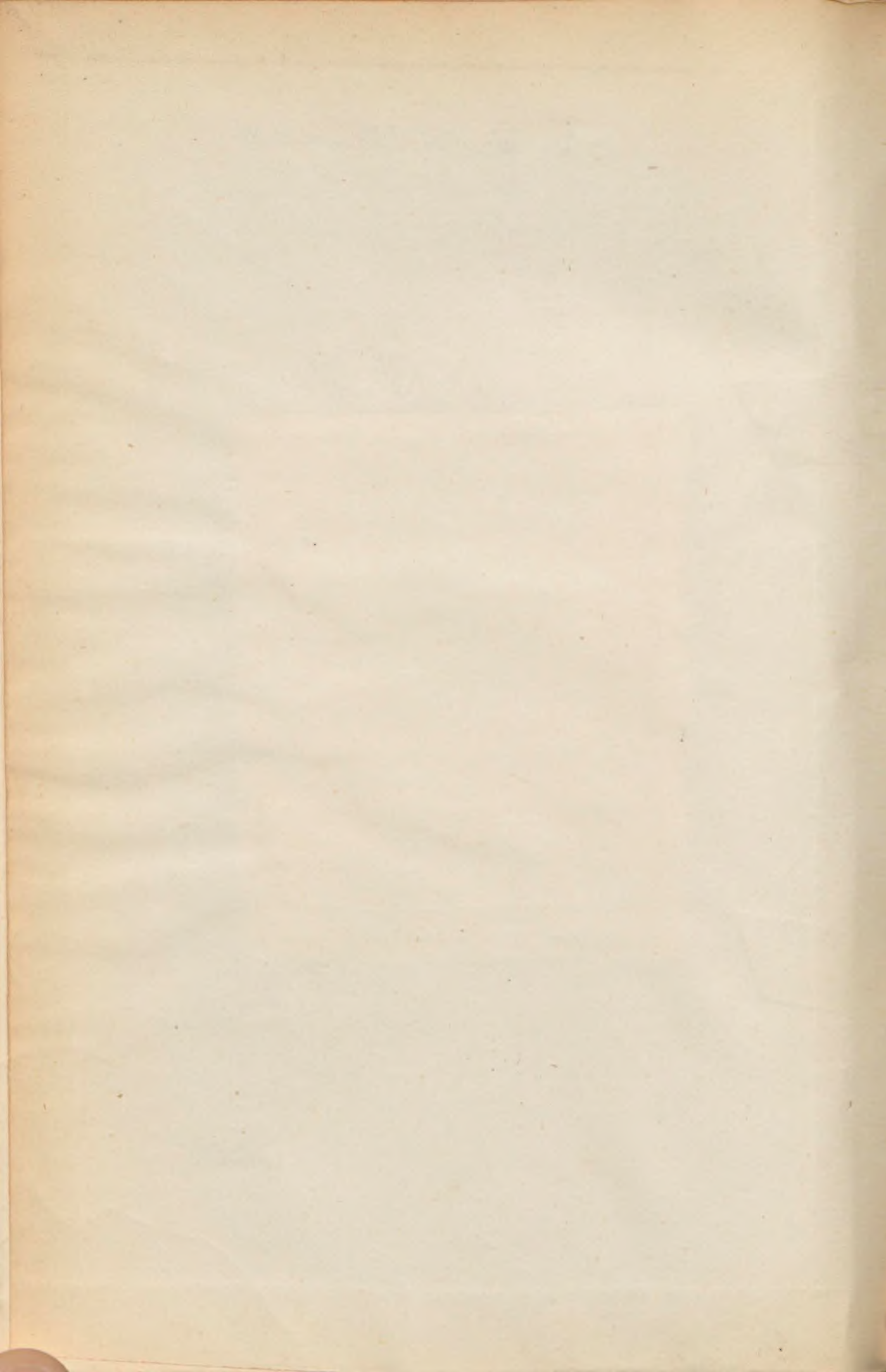
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Quarterly Statement

FOR 1882.

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE first years' campaign in Eastern Palestine is completed - Lieutenant Conder has returned to Jerusalem, bringing with him the survey of 500 miles, with plans, drawings, and photographs. This may be considered an excellent beginning. During the winter Mr. Armstrong will lay down the 500 square miles of survey on a sheet while Lieutenants Conder and Mantell draw the hill shading and the special plans and prepare the Reports for the future Memoirs. There has been difficulty about the validity of the old Firman with the Turkish authorities, but it is hoped that this will be speedily removed. The Reports which are published in this number prove sufficiently how rich a harvest remains to be reaped in this part of the country, even though our party followed in the steps of Canon Tristram and others who have recently visited Moab. The expedition has unfortunately lost the services of Mr. Black, who has been invalided home.

Lieutenant Conder, after twice passing four hours in the passage between the Virgin's Fount and the Pool of Siloam, succeeded in discovering the place where the workmen met. He found no other inscriptions. M. Clermont Ganneau has in preparation a treatise on the inscription, on which Dr. Ginsburg has also been working. Certain questions have been raised in the last number of the Transactions of the German Palestine Exploration Society, as to the correctness of Professor Sayce's statement of the expense borne by this Society in the preliminary lowering of the water and other things. It seems, therefore, desirable to state exactly what was the action of the Committee in the matter. It was on August the 3rd, 1880, that the Committee first heard of the inscription. They immediately resolved that the sum of 25/, which was estimated to be sufficient for the purpose, should be voted for such expenses as might be incurred; and Dr. Chaplin, the Honorary Secretary for Jerusalem, was autho-

rised to draw upon the Treasurer for that amount if necessary. The sum actually drawn by Dr. Chaplin and given to Herr Schick for the purpose was five pounds.

The portion of the work already completed includes special surveys of Heshbon, Elealah, Madaba, Baal-Meon, Nebo, Pisgah, the hot springs of Calirrhoe, and Rabboth Ammon. Over 600 names have been found and 200 ruins examined: some 400 cromlechs have been discovered and sketched, with many menhirs and stone circles: search was made, but without result, for remains of the Cities of the Plain: 36 photographs have been taken: a building has been found at Ammon, which Lieutenant Conder thinks is of Sassanian origin: a number of Arab traditions have been collected: and identifications have been proposed for the *Field of Zophim*, the *Ascent of Luhith*, *Jazer*, *Sibmah*, and *Minneeth*.

A second rock-hewn channel in connection with the Virgin's Fount has been discovered by Herr Schick, who has made a plan of it, but no copy has yet been received in England; it is reported to have carried water direct to the lower Pool of Siloam. A new Crusading Church has also been discovered near Jeremiah's Grotto; Lieutenant Conder has made a plan of it.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we publish three "Notes" from the pen of M. Clermont Ganneau, containing an account of the recent archaeological work. He hopes to be able to continue these notes from time to time. The first is called Note II, because there was an earlier note, which seems to have miscarried. The discovery of the capital with the inscription in Greek and Phœnician characters opens many new and interesting questions in the archaeological history of the country. M. Ganneau has now quite recovered from his late severe illness.

During the repairs in the Haram Area another gate has been discovered in the eastern wall. It does not appear, however, to be of great antiquity, and is reported to be built in the later masonry. It has been measured and sketched by Sir Charles Wilson, and by Lieutenant Conder.

Colonel Sir Charles Wilson, writing of his recent visit to Palestine, makes the following observations, which will be read with great interest:—

"In fifteen years there have necessarily been many changes, and some of the points which struck me most may interest you.

"The population of the Lebanon and the area under cultivation have greatly increased, and it was quite a novelty to see all the people going about unarmed. Beirut has grown almost out of my remembrance, and the number of large good houses built during the last few years is quite remarkable. Damascus has hardly changed at all.

"The Haiffa Temple Colony was quite a new feature, but the members of it are, in one sense, doing great harm, for they are rapidly disforesting Carmel. Our man uses the wood as fuel for his factory or mill, I forget which, and a great quantity goes in this way. Charcoal burners also are hard at work. The clearance of trees in some parts was most painfully visible.

"It is hard to trust the memory after fifteen years, but it certainly seemed to me that in the country between Jerin and Jerusalem there had been much planting of olive and fig trees since my day. I used to be struck with the bare aspect of the hills; I was now struck by the amount of cultivation; perhaps, however, this may have been due to my late sojourn on the treeless plateau of Anatolia. The smallness of the country, and its natural features, were more than ever striking, after living in a country where all the features are on a large scale, and a journey of nine or ten days is an ordinary incident of Anatolian life.

"At Samaria I found all my excavations filled in, and those made by Anderson on Mount Gerizim were partially filled. It was most extraordinary to notice the fresh appearance of the rubbish thrown out round Justinian's Church on Gerizim, and almost impossible to believe fifteen years had elapsed; the heaps of rubbish looked but a month old.

"I went from Jaffa to Jerusalem by the carriage road, which I had not seen. The people complain of its roughness, but it is the best road I have seen in Turkey, save the French Beirut-Damascus road, and is the only mountain road I know of made by the Turks except that from Trebizonde to Erzurum.

"The approach to Jerusalem was to me a painful one. When I left in 1866, the only buildings outside the town were the Russian convent, and two or three small houses; now new Jerusalem is almost as large as the old one. I had always liked to think of Jerusalem as the walled city, with its gates closed at nightfall, surrounded by olive gardens, which I had learned to know so well during the survey, and it was anything but pleasant to ride over a hard metalled road, through a long suburb, such as one sees round a third class Italian town. However, it seemed to remind one of the villas and gardens which spread outside the second wall at the time of the Crucifixion.

"Within the city there has been little change, except the erection or completion of some of the large religious establishments, and after the first half-hour I felt myself quite at home in the winding street and blind alleys. One great change is, however, in progress; all the rubbish is now being shot into the Pool of Bethesda, which is to be filled up and planted as a public garden; a large portion at the east end had already been levelled up.

"I paid a hurried visit to the site of the German excavations, and was astonished at the work they had managed to do for the small sum of £300, I think. I believe they have found much of interest, but as many of the pits were half filled in, I could not examine all the places, nor would any descrip-

tion be easily followed without reference to plans. The excavations seemed to me not to have been exhaustive in any one place, rather a series of small excavations, in hope of making a lucky find. One of the most interesting points is the discovery of a second rock-hewn channel, in connection with the Fountain of the Virgin, of which Mr. Schick showed me a plan, and of which I believe he was the discoverer; it apparently carried water direct to the lower pool of Siloam, and is perhaps older than the other, which starts off from a corner shown in Warren's plan of the conduit. It may throw some light on the cubit question in the inscription. I also saw the supposed city wall uncovered, near Siloam; it is in the position one might expect to find such a wall, but the masonry did not appear to me such as is usually found in city walls; it was more like a retaining wall. The publication of the results obtained by the Germans will be looked for with great interest.

"I was glad to find Mr. Schick had still in his possession the original plan of Jerusalem, which I gave him in 1866 to keep as a record of rock lurds. He has entered on this the exact points at which rock has been found since Colonel Warren left Jerusalem, and I have arranged with him to make a facsimile copy, which I hope may some day be published.

"There are many other minor points, but my letter is already too long; I must mention, however, that I examined and made a plan of the door in the East Haram wall, found by M. Ganneau; it is comparatively modern, but of interest from its position. You have no doubt received full information about this already."

The support given to the new enterprise during the last twelve months may be considered fairly encouraging. The amount received in all from subscriptions and donations reached, up to December 20th, the total of £2,432 1s. 9d. This is only a little more than enough to cover the cost of the party while in the field. The printing and distribution of the *Quarterly Statement*, and the management expenses, call for another 800*l*. The Committee, however, find on all sides a renewal of the old interest which had naturally diminished while the preparation of the memoirs and maps for publication was the only occupation of their officers, and expect a much larger support next year.

Will every subscriber remember that about one-third more than was subscribed this year is *absolutely necessary*? It is too much to ask every one to increase his subscription by one-third, but if every one would only persuade one other to subscribe with him, there would be no difficulty. The circular enclosed may be useful for this purpose. It may also be pointed out that the splendid maps already issued, and those which will be published in the spring, together with the Memoirs and the *Quarterly Statements*, have thrown such a flood of light on Biblical topography, as to render all previous publications on the subject comparatively valueless. What has been done for Western Palestine will now be done for the East, with results equally valuable. It is not a great

thing to ask our 4,000 subscribers, to whom the *Quarterly Statement* is sent, to make up between them the sum of £3,500. And the Committee's hands are greatly strengthened by payment being made early in the year.

During the last twelve months the Committee have issued three volumes of their Memoirs, besides their reduced map of Modern Palestine. The Water Basin Edition of the reduced map with Mr. Saunders's "Introduction" will be ready for the new year. The next volume of Memoirs will also be ready in January: the other volumes will follow as rapidly as possible; and the ancient maps will be completed, it is hoped, in the spring. In addition to these a General Index to the *Quarterly Statement*, 1869-1881, has been prepared and will be issued immediately; the pamphlet "Some of the Biblical Gains from the Survey" is under revision, and a new edition will be published as soon as possible; lastly an Index of Bible names with proposed identifications will be printed for and with the new maps already issued.

The Committee have resolved that Branch Associations of the Bible Society (up to March the 1st), all Sunday Schools in union with the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, shall be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the map (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee have to regret the loss of one of their most valuable members during the last quarter. The Bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Joseph Barclay, died in the Holy City on Saturday, October 22nd, after a very short illness, and was buried the same afternoon in the Protestant Cemetery on the southern slopes of Mount Zion. Dr. Barclay was a Missionary in Constantinople from 1858 to 1861, and was then for some years Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem. He returned to England in 1873 and became Rector of Stapleford, Herts. He was appointed to the Bishopric of Jerusalem in the autumn of 1879. His diocese extended from the Euphrates to the Levant in Asia, and in Africa from the west to the south of Abyssinia and Galla Land. Dr. Barclay was an accomplished linguist as well as a profound Hebrew scholar: he was able to preach in German, Spanish, Turkish, and Arabic.

The income of the Society from all sources from September 22nd to December 16th, 1881, was £969 17s. 11d. The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, December 20th, was £270 12s. 9d.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this

method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORT.

No. IX.

HESHBON AND ITS CROMLECHS.

Ain Faneili, 17th September, 1881.

SINCE my last report the Survey has been advancing steadily in spite of a week of most intense heat— 112° F. in the shade with a difference of about 40° between the wet and dry bulbs and with a hot dry ozone—less east wind.

Base.—Two cool days were selected, and on these the base line was measured. The north end is directly connected with the highest point in the ruins of Heshbon, the south end is on a knoll at the ruin of Kufeir. The total length is about 3.8 miles, and the two measurements (taken with a light chain compared with a standard chain before and after use) agree within two links (1.3 feet).

This cannot but be considered a highly satisfactory result, and could only be obtained by such careful and experienced surveyors as Messrs. Black and Armstrong are well known to have proved themselves. The ground was hardly as good as could be wished, and much inferior to that on which the two former bases were measured. The Ramleh base gave a difference of only 4 inches between its two measurements in 1871, in a distance of about four miles. The Esdraelon base had a difference of three links or 1 foot 10 inches in about four and a half miles. The character of the new base is thus quite equal to that of the previous work west of Jordan. The new base is *prolonged*, as it is termed, at its north end by a line measured at an angle of 60° , forming one side of an equilateral triangle, and thus exactly equal in length to the distance not measured on the main line; which construction was necessitated by the rough ground in the ruins of Heshbon. The prolonged portion (about a quarter of a mile long) was twice measured by Lieutenant Mantell and myself with a steel tape, and the results agreed within 2 inches, the ground being good.

Triangulation.—Twenty theodolite stations, including the sites of Heshbon, Nebo, Elealah, &c., have been selected, and observations have been taken from eight of these with the excellent 8-inch theodolites furnished by the Committee. We were fortunate in obtaining clear weather in which to observe our old stations west of Jordan, and we were even able to obtain a good line from Siaghah to Neby Samwil, whence Jaffa—the original longitude station—can be seen. We also observed Rujon el Bahr in the Dead Sea, Jebel Kūfūntal above Jericho, Kasr el Yehūd near Jordan, and Kurn Sartabeh east of Shechem, and were thus able to fix our new triangulation in its proper position respecting longitude.

and latitude. The junction is not yet as complete as it will be made finally, but our rough calculations show that the results derived from the new base are likely to agree in a most satisfactory manner with the calculations depending on the western bases. The new Survey may thus, I think, be considered to rest on a firm basis, and our subsequent work will constantly be checked by observations to the stations on the western watershed, where cairns exist which we rebuilt in the earlier summer months of the present year.

The American Survey cairns are well built, and the stations skilfully selected. The use of these stations has saved us several days of labour, in addition to which the Arabs have a most fortunate propensity towards the construction of cairns on every high top—a reminiscence perhaps of the worship of Nebo or Mercury—and we are thus often able to make use of structures which are not likely to be disturbed because custom has made them familiar to the wild shepherds of these mountains.

The survey of detail has commenced, and the examination of the ruins by Lieutenant Mantell and myself, in a few days some 100 square miles of the new Survey will be completed all round Heshbon.

Heshbon.—The ruins of the capital of Sihon are at first sight disappointing. Shapeless mounds of hewn stones, rude pillars and cornices of Byzantine origin, a great pool on the east, a ruined fort on the south, numerous caves and cisterns with remains of a colonnaded building on the highest part of the hill, are all that we have found. The details have been measured with the same amount of accuracy observed in the important ruins west of Jordan; but no inscription has yet rewarded our search, and although the site is very extensive, its buildings are evidently all of late origin (4th to 6th century probably). One curious illustration of Scripture appears, however, to be presented by the site. The eyes of the Shulamites (Cant. vii, 4) are likened to the “fishpools of Heshbon by the gate of Bath Rabbim,” and Canon Tristram points out that the bright pools in the stream which runs beneath Heshbon on the west, are probably intended. The plateau on the edge of which the city stands is reached, from this stream, by an ancient road which, at the top of the ascent, passes through a sort of passage cut in the rocks about 8 or 10 feet high and 3 or 4 yards wide. This entry to the site of Heshbon from the north-west is known as the *Bawib* or “gates,” and these gates looking down on the fishpools of Heshbon may perhaps be those noticed by the author of the Song of Songs under the name Bath Rabbim “Daughter of great ones.” From Heshbon a good view is obtained to the south over the great Belka plateau, and from the high top west of the ruins the Jordan valley becomes visible, with the mountains beyond, the thorn groves of Râmen being seen through the gap caused by the deep gorge of Wâdy Hesbân.

Of this hilltop (el Kerûmiyeh) there is more to be said later, for here we first came across one of the great centres of rude stone monuments which form one of the most interesting features of the new country, and present the oldest remains as yet found in Syria.

Identifications.—Several names of Biblical interest we have already

collected, among which the most important are apparently the five following :—

The Field of Zophim (טדה צפים Numbers xxiii, 14) was at or identical with Pisgah or Nebo. The word signifying "views" comes from a root identical with the Arabic *Safi*, "clear" or "shining." My Arab guide volunteered the information that the ascent leading up from the 'Ayūn Mūsā to the top of *Jebel Neba* is called *Tal'at es Sufa*. Thus on the side of Nebo we still find the name Zophim preserved unchanged, and this discovery, which is I believe entirely new, serves to confirm the ordinary identification of Nebo with *Jebel Neba*. We can have little hesitation in identifying the "Field of Zophim" with the plateau of arable land, a rich red field at the top of *Tal'at Sufa*, from which the knoll of limestone called *Rās Neba* rises some 50 feet on the west. In connection with this question I may mention that I have taken careful notes on the spot of the view from Nebo, as former travellers have given different accounts of the prospect. It must be confessed that in many respects the panorama is disappointing, especially as it seems to be an impossibility that the utmost (or western) sea can be seen either from Nebo or from any other mountain in the district.

2. *The Ascent of Lulith* (Isaiah xv, 5 ; Jeremiah xlvi, 5) is mentioned in connection with Zoar and Horonaim. The valley leading up to the plateau west of Nebo, on the south side of the ridge, seems still to preserve this name in the form *Tal'at el Heith*, which is well known. This *tala'h* or "ascent" communicates between two of the main roads leading towards *Madeba* from the plains of *Shittim*.

3. *Ja'zer* (יעצר), an important boundary town of Reuben and Gad (Joshua xiii, 25), would seem to answer to the large ruin of *Beit Zar'a*. The Arabic and Hebrew contain exactly the same radicals, but the guttural would seem to have been displaced, in a manner not unnatural, and of which other well known instances will be recalled. The situation of the site north-east of Heshbon where the plateau, called *Mishor* in the Bible, begins to rise into the wooded uplands of Gad, seems to suit well with the idea that the old tribe boundaries were as the modern still are, marked by natural features. *Beit Zar'a* is also possibly the *Zara* of Josephus east of Jordan.

4. *Sibmah*, mentioned (Numbers xxxii, 3-38 ; Joshua xiii, 19) with Pisgah, Beth Peor, Beth Jeshimoh (*Sacimeh*), Nebo, Heshbon, Elealah, &c., would possibly be the present important site *Sūmia*, where are ancient tombs, and a curious tablet close to the stream measuring 7 feet 3 inches in height by 8 feet in width, but entirely without inscription or sculpture. The "Vine of Sibmah" is mentioned (Jeremiah xlvi, 32), and it is interesting therefore to remark that the hill above *Sūmia* presents remains of several large wine-presses, and ruined vineyard towers. The Onomasticon places *Sibmah* 500 paces from Heshbon, which might perhaps be intended to represent the site of *Sūmia*. Remains of a Byzantine town exist here, and of a monastery, the masonry of which was used by *Makbil* in *Nimr* about a century ago in the construction of a little fort.

On one of the lintel stones in this building I found carved the cross potent or Jerusalem cross, which I have never before found in any other building in the country.

5. *Minith* (Judges xi, 33) might be conjectured to be the present Minieh south of Nebo. The Onomasticon, however, places it four Roman miles from Heshbon. The mention in connection with Aroer would seem to suggest a southern situation like that of Minieh.

I find on careful enumeration that we have only some 40 Biblical sites to discover between the Arnon and Hermon, and besides those already given I have several to propose which await confirmation by further enquiry.

Heshbon Cromlechs.—My time and attention for several days have been wholly devoted to the wonderful rude stone monuments with which this district abounds. The contrast in this respect with the west of Jordan is very striking, and is perhaps accounted for by the supposition that the Jews deliberately destroyed all traces of these structures connected as they must clearly have been with the barbarous religion of the early aborigines. In Galilee, where Jewish influence was probably never predominant until a late period, a few cromlechs still exist. In Moab and the Jordan valley they are marvellously numerous. On one hill I have gathered 26 examples, and in three days nearly 50 cromlechs have been planned, sketched, and photographed. At Jebel Neba and el Maslûbîyeh other groups occur, and we are informed that they are even more plentiful in the Ghor.

Time will not allow of a detailed account of the various specimens, but some of the general results are of sufficient interest to be summarised. In the first place it seems to me that these monuments are not sown broadcast over the country, but that they are referable to certain centres which represent the old sacred places of the primitive inhabitants. One of these centres appears to be the rounded summit west of Heshbon, already noticed and called el Kerûmiyeh. There is a flat plateau west of the summit some 200 feet lower than the highest top. This runs out westwards about 300 yards, and terminates in a knoll commanding a view down Wâdy Hesbân. The lower knoll was once apparently crowned by a cairn, of which the foundations remain, and a circle of stones of moderate size surrounded the cairn, the circle being about 40 feet in diameter. Lower down the hill on the west are remains of a second circle of about 200 yards diameter, consisting of two rows of stones with a path or interval of 8 feet between them. Outside this circle, on north, south, and west, are groups of cromlechs of every size and form. At least 26 were clearly recovered, and others fallen, or of less distinct character, were noticed. The best specimen is on the north near the fort of the spire which rises some 800 feet above the valley. This specimen, found and photographed by Lieutenant Mantell, has a table stone measuring 9 feet by 8 feet, supported by two very square, standing stones, and measures 5 feet 6 inches in the clear under the table stone. On the plateau north-east of the central cairn and circle is another fine cromlech of equal dimensions. These

two are the largest and most lofty, the average height of the standing stones being about 3 feet, with a table stone 5 feet square.



There is a second group of cromlechs on the north side of Wady Heshbân, more than a mile west of the Kerûmiyeh hill, and it is remarkable that these, numbering at least 16 in all, are placed so as in every case to obtain a view of the Kerûmiyeh hill east of them. They all occur on the east slopes of the hill, and none are found on the west. Other specimens occur on the south slope of the hill north of el Kerûmiyeh. From this circumstance it seems likely that the Kerûmiyeh hill—the highest near Heshbon—with its cairn and circles, was a sacred mountain, and that the cromlechs were built facing it, just as the modern Arab builds his little stone piles—degenerate offspring of the mighty works of former times—in positions whence the sacred centre might be seen with the sun rising behind it.

It is remarkable that the mountains thus covered with cromlechs are also those where the modern Arabs pile their stone heaps or *kehakir*, which they are accustomed to place in sacred spots or along roads, at points where shrines first come into view. They explain these piles to have reference to Neby Mûsa west of Jordan, but they are more probably

intended to propitiate the Ghouls, for the cromlech obtains the name *Beit el Ghâl* or "Ghoul's House" from the Bedawin.

In a former report I have noticed the stone circles still erected by the Arabs. We had an opportunity the other day of observing the cultus of these sacred circles, which consists in placing a small offering on the lintel or cromlech, which in most cases occurs on the west side of the circle. The worshipper then touches the lintel with his forehead and mutters an invocation to the local divinity. We have found a single example in which the lintel was on the east of the circle, but this was in the vicinity of a very sacred place, *Kabr 'Abdallah*, towards which the worshipper at the lintel thus faces.

The theory that the cromlechs were graves seems to me to be contradicted by the fact that the three stones stand in most cases on the live rock. In many cases circular holes are found in the top stones of the Heshbon groups; these are sometimes 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 2 or 3 inches deep. Possibly they may be connected with the use of the cromlechs as altars, either as receptacles for blood or for fire.

The cromlechs have no special orientation. They occur generally on the hill slopes, not on the summit, and are found where fallen blocks were abundant and where open ground sufficient for a few worshippers exists. They are raised high enough to command a view of the sacred centre, but the labour of climbing to the top of the hill, or perhaps the yet more serious difficulty of transporting large blocks to the heights, seems to have induced their builders to choose comparatively accessible positions. The two standing stones do not appear to be essential, but the top table stone may be supported in any convenient manner, so long as it is propped in a fairly horizontal position. Large flat blocks with a single small stone inserted beneath, occur among the cromlechs, and seem to have been less ambitious attempts at constructing a rude altar. Strata of rock in other cases have been prized up, and supported by a stone on the lower side, while in some instances three flat stones stand one on the other. Circular holes are often excavated in the live rock close to the cromlech.

The existence of cromlechs surrounding a large cairn on Nebo is of great interest. The mountain where Balak's altars were built took its name apparently from Nebo—the planet Mercury, and for this reason is said to have been changed by the Reubenites—possibly to *Pisgah*; (cf. Numbers xxxii, 38), and Nebo like Baal Peor and Baal Meon was no doubt a centre of Pagan worship.

Mercury or Hermes was one of the earliest of the Semitic gods, and under the names Set and Thoth was worshipped by the Egyptians, the Hittites, and the Phœnicians. He was essentially a stone-god. The Talmud records the practice of throwing stones on to a heap in honour of Marculim, and the Latin proverb recalls the same curious species of worship. Not only Nebo but possibly *Jebel 'Attârûs*, with its great cairn, may be connected with this ancient cultus, the name of the latter being very close to the Arabic *'Attârûd*, the name of the planet Mercury.

Should the fact of the relation of the cromlechs to these mountain

centres be established by further observation, we may perhaps obtain a clue for the discovery of Baal Peor, and Bamoth Baal, both of which are as yet doubtful.

Some curious rock-cut chambers are found in connection with the cromlechs. They are generally 3 to 5 feet long, 3 feet broad and high. In other cases they are 6 or 7 feet long, and were evidently once tombs, but the shorter ones, which are the more numerous, seem hardly to have been intended as sepulchres. They are almost always excavated in detached cubes of rock 10 to 15 feet wide, and in many cases these blocks have been subsequently overthrown by earthquakes or landslips. There is as yet no evidence whether these excavations are as old as the cromlechs, nor indeed do we know how old the latter themselves may be. The cromlechs appear to occur in connection with ancient towns, and this may account for the association with the rock chamber. We have not found any flint instruments or chips near the cromlechs, though several specimens of rude flint instruments occur at 'Ain Hesbân on the flat ground near the stream.

North of 'Ain Hesbân we have as yet seen no cromlechs, but specimens are known to exist in Mount Gilead. It might perhaps be suggested that the "throne" of King Og (עֶרֶשׂ Deut. iii, 11), rendered "bedstead" in the English version, and usually supposed to have been a sarcophagus, may really have been a cromlech. The dimensions (12 feet by 9 feet), are rather larger than those of the cromlechs as yet measured. This throne was to be seen at Rabbath Ammon, and cromlechs still exist at 'Ammân, which we shall measure with unusual interest.

Geology.—The observations as yet are not sufficiently numerous to allow of important deductions, but the general succession of the strata is unmistakable. The Nubian sandstone attains to a thickness of some 2,000 feet above the Ghor as seen in Wâdy Hesbân, and is of all colours from slate and mauve to light buff or white. Above this follows the hard dolomitic limestone, found west of Jordan, forming a second step in the hills, and a third step is made by the soft chalk, with flint bands, which forms the substratum of the Belka plateau. The water sinks through this formation, and there are consequently no springs on the plateau, but only a few wells, while on the sides of the great slope of 4,000 feet leading to the Ghor, beautiful streams burst forth at the base of the chalk, above the impervious limestone. Every valley at this level, some 2,000 feet above the Mediterranean, has its springs and streams, fringed with oleanders and canes, which flow murmuring down the gorges falling in cascades over the rocks. The contrast of this rich water-supply with the scantiness of streams west of Jordan is striking. So far as has yet been observed the dip of the strata downwards towards the west is much less marked than on the west side of the Ghor, thus seeming to confirm the conclusion of Lartet that the valley was neither more nor less than a gigantic fault. Traces of volcanic action, and a hot spring, were noticed near Kofrein, but no basalt occurs in the district at present surveyed.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST SURVEY CAMPAIGN.

1st November, 1881.

THE work was commenced on the 17th August, and carried on until the 29th October, when the party returned to Jerusalem; during this period of eleven weeks a total of 500 square miles was surveyed, but a great part of the time was taken up in preliminary reconnaissance, necessary before establishing the triangulation, and in measuring the base line. The actual rate of progress, after these preliminaries had been completed, was about 250 square miles per month, which is an average higher than any reached during the former survey, except during the campaigns which I conducted in 1875, when, however, the European Staff included three surveyors, whereas during the last fortnight of the present campaign only one surveyor has been working, in addition to the two officers.

The cost of the work, in spite of the heavy payments to the Arab escort, has been less than at any previous time, principally on account of the cheapness of food and forage. The collection of the names has given comparatively little trouble, as the Arabs knew the nomenclature well, and imparted information readily. Over 600 names were collected, and more than 200 ruins were examined. Some 400 cromlechs were found, and careful plans, sketches, and photographs of the best specimens were made. The idea put forward in a former report that these cromlechs are referable to certain centres was fully established, seven such centres being explored where the cromlechs occur in numbers, whereas in the other parts of the country not a single cromlech is found. In addition to cromlechs some very interesting *Menhirs* or standing stones were also found, and ancient stone circles occur in connection with both classes of these monuments.

Among the sites explored are Heshbon, Elealah, Madeba, Baal-Meon, Nebo, and Pisgah, the hot springs of Calirrhoe, Rabboth Ammon—where the party remained fifteen days among the ruins, and of which site a special survey has been very carefully made. In the Jordan valley search was made for the Cities of the Plain, but without any very conclusive results.

I think that we have also fixed with great probability the sites of Baal-Peor and of Bamoth Baal, in positions entirely unsuspected before, and we have some interesting suggestions to make in connection with the "bedstead" (or more correctly "throne") of Og in Rabboth Ammon, as well as respecting the history of Balaam and Balak.

At 'Arâk el Emir we made an interesting discovery of the probable method by which the enormous stones were brought from the quarries to the palace of Hyrcanus, and we explored carefully the existing ruins and copied the inscriptions and details of architecture.

The number of photographs taken by Lieutenant Mantell is 36 in all. A short account of these is attached, and copies will be sent as soon as possible

to England. The large majority of subjects have, I think, certainly never been photographed previously.

The discoveries of inscriptions have been few and of no great value. Two Greek inscriptions were found fairly preserved, and fragments of others were also discovered. A Roman milestone with a Latin inscription was also found by Lieutenant Mantell, and there are remains of a Greek inscription in the great Temple of 'Ammân. The Arabs, however, state that no stone like that of Dîbon has ever been since found by them, although during the last twelve years they have been constantly searching for such relics.

A building explored at 'Ammân is likely to prove of great interest to architects. It has been previously described as a Byzantine church and as a mosque, but there can be little doubt that it is of Sassanian origin, probably about the same age as the Mashita palace discovered by Dr. Tristram. Its architecture, together with that of an early moslem Mosque in 'Ammân, seem likely to illustrate in an interesting manner the question of the style of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. Plans, sketches, and photographs of these and all the other buildings of 'Ammân have been obtained.

A number of interesting Arab traditions have been collected, some of which have a considerable mythological value. Statistics respecting the names, numbers, and property of the eastern tribes have also been obtained, although with some difficulty.

Full reports on the heads above enumerated will be forwarded as soon as possible, but the great press of work at the present moment renders it impossible to give more than a rude summary of the most interesting of our discoveries.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

NOTES BY M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

NOTE II.*

Jaffa, 8th October, 1881.

BESIDES short expeditions to different places in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, I spent nearly five weeks in Jerusalem and its immediate environs. I started the 2nd August and did not return until the 7th September. Upon reaching Latrun I mounted one of the carriage horses and made my way to Amwas. There I obtained three fragments of ancient inscriptions, one Greek and two Roman; one of the latter is an imperial protocol. The Greek inscription consists of two lines; in the first line one can still distinguish the characters ΠΟΛ which are possibly part of the word ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ; if so this gives us the ancient name Emmaus Nicopolis. On the second line we find [Υ]ΠΑΤΙΑ either signifying Hypatia, a feminine name, or else the word ὑπατεία, *consulship*.

Amongst the fresh inscriptions which I have collected at Jerusalem, and of which I have brought back either copies or photographs, I must mention the following:

A fragment of a Roman inscription containing the name of a certain 'Rufas' (with the addition of the word "*patronus*"), who may be identical with the governor of that name at the time of the revolt of the celebrated Barcochebas, which ended in the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman province under the name of Ælia Capitolina.

Another fragment from the neighbourhood of Jericho.

A fresh Jewish ossuary with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions. Amongst the number are references to the following names, all of some interest:—

ΜΑΘΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΤΟΥ—ΒΕΡΟΥΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΑ
ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ—ΤΡΦΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ—
ΜΑΤΤΑΘΙΟΥ—ΒΕΡΟΥΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑΣ, &c.

One of these ossuaries has an epigraph written in cursive Greek characters which are not easy to decipher, and which are too indistinct to photograph. I have taken a careful sketch of it. Another has a Hebrew inscription (written in the early square characters) in which the name of Jesus is twice repeated, followed by some patronymic which I have not yet succeeded in reading.

Three fragments (Greek and Roman) from Colonia, a village near Jerusalem, one of which contains the letters ΝΙΑ—the end perhaps of the ancient name of this place which was apparently a Roman settlement.)†

* Note I appears to have been mislaid or not to have arrived.

† This locality is worth careful exploration. They told me of the existence of some long inscription, but I searched for it in vain; but I do not despair of finding it at some future time.

There are also a number of mediæval inscriptions of the period of the Crusades and of the later Jews. I especially noticed one at the base of one of the columns of the galleries in the interior of the Haram esh Sherif, and belonging apparently to the epitaph of some Templar. (Characters of the 12th century.)

[hic ja] cet D [ominus] Ogo (or Odo) de Bus.

Two shields of the 15th century, painted on paper and found glued to the interior wall of the Cenaculum, the present Neby Daoud, under an old plastering. One is dated 1414, and has on it the name of a certain Kunz (Conrad) the Gendur von Noremberg—the other with the name of Sigmund Laber would be of about the same period. Ancient writers, especially Faber, tell us that the pilgrims to Palestine were in the habit of affixing their names and arms on the walls of the sacred buildings which they visited. I have taken photographs of these shields, and send the one of Sigmund Laber as a specimen.

There are also a number of Greek inscriptions, for the greater part Christian; amongst them I found the epitaph of the Abbess of a convent on the Mount of Olives, of Armenian origin. I must also mention another Armenian inscription from Kerak on the other side of Jordan, which seems to be very ancient and of historical value.

I find that the making of false inscriptions is still carried on in Jerusalem. I revealed the existence of this species of imposture in 1874, and some of my discoveries regarding it are not wanting in interest.

I have paid particular attention to the Hebrew inscription (in Phœnician characters) discovered a year ago on the rock in the subterranean canal which connects the Pool of Siloam with the Fountain of the Virgin. I have spent a good deal of time in very uncomfortable positions in the aqueduct during my endeavours to decipher it, for the inscription has naturally attracted much attention; even now it is not fully understood. I think I have arrived at the correct reading of all those parts which are not completely destroyed, and I have some very good squeezes of it. I hope soon to write a paper on the subject, in which I shall endeavour to point out its exact meaning, and try to decide upon the origin of this channel. At present I will merely call attention to two facts:

Firstly.—Every one makes a mistake in considering this to be the first inscription in Phœnician characters yet discovered at Jerusalem. They seem to have forgotten that twelve years ago I discovered two in identically the same characters engraved in like manner on the rock which forms the outer wall of a cave near Siloam.

Secondly.—I think that with regard to the history of the source in question we must take into consideration *three* epochs; *the first*, during which the water took its natural course into the valley of Jehoshaphat, then much deeper than at present; *a second* period, when the inhabitants wishing to gain access to the pool without exposing themselves to the blows of a besieging enemy, bored an inclined subterranean passage through the rock, which enabled them to draw water from a well pierced vertically below the source; *the third epoch* being when the inhabitants, not content

with this defensive precaution, and wishing to deprive the enemy of the water which still continued to run into the valley, determined to alter its course, and caused it to run into a new bed which they formed for it under the hill, and thence into a large reservoir which they made in the valley of Tyropœon, and which was protected by the neighbouring walls. And it is to this latter work, I think, that the inscription refers; the previous work being represented by the subterranean system discovered in 1867 by Colonel Warren under the hill of Ophel.

With respect to my own archaeological researches I have two matters of importance to relate, leaving aside all secondary points.

Firstly.—I have succeeded in inducing the Turks to make some excavations in the interior of the Haram, such excavations being strictly forbidden to the Christians. I attained this result by referring to a certain Arabic inscription which I discovered years ago in the wall of the Haram, and which says that at *that point there are stones buried for the use of the Haram.*

As at this moment the Turks are proposing to make some repairs, thanks to this inscription, I was able to persuade them to make an opening in the wall, about fifty yards from the inscription where from certain indications I expected we might find a door which had been walled up and has hitherto remained undiscovered. My prediction was realized. The door was there, and gave access to the open ground in the interior of the Haram. They were continuing their excavations when I left, and it is not unlikely that they will make some very unexpected discoveries. I hope to return and verify the results.

Secondly.—I have been on the spot and paid a good deal of attention to the vexed question of the origin of the vast mausoleum called the Tomb of the Kings. And I think I am in a position to produce new and important, if not decisive elements of information on the subject. One result of which is, that I believe the sarcophagus which M. Sauly took to the Louvre, and which he and other authorities considered to be that of a Queen of Judah, is really the *sarcophagus of Queen Helena of Adiabene with her national name written in Adiabenean and in Hebrew.* My return journey to Jaffa was not without result. I went to Gezer and commenced some explorations which I hope will result in discoveries. My speedy return there obliges me to shorten this report. From Ramleh I have brought back fragments of a Greek inscription and a pair of capitals from Niane, a neighbouring village, on one of which is the same inscription that we found on the capital at Amwās—ΕΙC ΟΕΟC engraved in a semi circle. I have also a bronze seal with the name *Cucius Ælius Optatus.* A short visit to Lydda had no result. But in passing Sarfend I obtained two more fragments of inscriptions, one Greek, the other Arabic. I noticed, whilst there, indications of important ancient remains, to which I hope to return.

From the 19th to the 21st September I made a hasty visit to Haifa, Carmel, and St. John of Acre, in order to prepare for the researches which I hope to make a little later on.

Amongst my various expeditions in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, I must mention my rambles to the south of the town, a region very little known, and which even the map of Palestine leaves unnoticed. I have discovered some very interesting points, ancient cities rich in remains of buildings, pottery, glass, mosaics, etc., especially Tell Dalbeh, Hajar Gādām, and above all *Tell Yonâ's*. All these points are situated between Jaffa and Yabneh.

Amongst the objects with which I have lately enriched my collection of antiquities, I must mention :—

The handle of a dagger in enamelled copper of the time of the Crusades.

A Jewish ossuary with ornamentation in relief (very rare).

A beautiful fragment of a sculptured marble vase.

A Greek inscription from Moughar.

A fresh brick of the 10th Legion *fretensis* (Beit Jala).

A fragment of a Greek inscription from the Necropolis of Jaffa.

A radiated head of Helios (bronze statue from Tripoli).

A winged Cupid (bronze statuette from Gaza).

Four fragments of Greek inscriptions, and one Hebrew from Gaza and Ascalon.

A little bottle of crinkled glass.

A cylinder with Egyptian hieroglyphics.

A Phœnician scarabee in *pierra dura*.

A leaden ball.

A glass Tessera with a Coptic inscription (from the same places), etc.

NOTE III.

I. EXPEDITION TO BEIT DEJAN AND SAFERIYEH.

AN ANCIENT TOMB.

Jaffa, 22nd October, 1881.

THE Caimakam, or Governor of Jaffa, Youssef Effendi, is a most intelligent man, and has a taste for archaeological research, which I have done my best to encourage. A little while ago he begged me to go and examine an ancient tomb recently discovered near the villages of Beit Dejan and Saferiyeh, on the left of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. I hastened to avail myself of his invitation, and we started on the 24th June, accompanied by an officer of the Zabtiyeh (gendarmerie), who had been despatched on the first rumour of the discovery to preserve the monument

and any objects of value which it might contain. For a distance of about six or seven miles we continued along the road which leads to Jerusalem, passing the village of Yazûr,* the sanctuary of Imam Ali, and the village of Beit Dejan. Between the third and fourth of the small block-houses which command the road all the way to Jerusalem, we turned off, bearing to the left across country and in the direction of the western plain. After walking about a hundred yards over undulating ground we arrived at a spot called *Wâdy Abu Rûs*, which may be translated "valley of the father of heads," or better, "valley of heads." This valley is formed by a very slight depression of the plain. It is accurately marked in the Survey Map, only its name is not given. There we found at a depth of about three feet below the ground the newly discovered tomb, half exposed to view. It consists of a rectangular receptacle in soft calcareous stone, and is of the ordinary dimensions. But the lid (cover) which had been already raised to get at the interior is of a peculiar type. About a dozen years ago I had one dug up which was exactly like it, at a distance of about seven miles from the *Wâdy Abu Rûs*, and in the direction of the Mussulman sanctuary of *Nebî Daniân* situated to the south-east and close to Lydda. This specimen was carefully raised under my directions, and a drawing of it was made by M. Lecomte during my mission of 1874.

The top of the lid has simple finials (*acrotères*), one at each of the angles and one in the middle of each of the longer sides; the top is made with inclined planes, the intersecting edges of which form a large cross.

It is possible that this cruciform design is not the result of pure hazard, but that a religious feeling suggested the choice of this particular geometrical form. With the aid of some fellahin from the village of Beit Dejan we completed the digging out of the tomb, but neither on the exterior of the tomb nor on the top did we find the slightest trace of any characters or inscription. One of the two longest sides of the tomb had been stove in either by some one in search of treasure or by the pressure of the earth. We next examined the interior, which was partially filled with mould, but in spite of the most careful search we did not find a single object; the bones, however, were in their respective positions, and I at all events hoped we should recover the skull, as it would have been an object of interest for anthropologists; but in vain did we search for it, although the position in which it should have occupied was clearly indicated both by the position of the bones and by the place formed for its reception at one end of the sarcophagus. The search ended, the fellahin carefully replaced the bones, saying amongst themselves that they were perhaps the remains of some saint, which possibly caused them to look on our researches with no very friendly eyes. In

* For a long time Yazûr was supposed to be Gezer, until I discovered the true position of this royal city of the Canaanites at Tel el Gezer, near Abu Shushieh. This discovery was confirmed by some inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek characters engraved on the rock, and giving all the letters of the name of the town.

replacing the heavy top, it broke through their want of skill, and they were then ordered to cover the whole with earth.

The absence of the skull is certainly remarkable, and naturally leads to the supposition that the occupant of the tomb may have been decapitated. On this hypothesis the defunct must have been the victim of one of those religious or political turmoils of which Palestine was so often the scene.

I cannot help connecting the fact with the name of the valley—*Wādīy Aba Rās*, "valley of heads," by which the place is locally known, and the still more characteristic name of "*Maqtaleh*"—place of murder or slaughter—borne by a neighbouring spot on the opposite side of the road to Jerusalem. I am aware that popular tradition (which by-the-by always requires strict examination) accounts for this name by a commonplace story of brigands and cut-throats; but it is not improbable that in this tale we may find the obscure survival of some events more or less historic and belonging to one of those periods to which I have alluded. Popular tradition is more tenacious than exact; in every country it follows a sort of law which may be resolved into the following somewhat paradoxical formula: "Tradition only preserves the truth at the expense of changing it." In no place is this truer than in Palestine, the classic ground of tradition.

One may suppose that the tomb is not an isolated one, but that it belongs to a group of sepulchres made at the same period, and in which were buried a number of people (possibly Christians), who had met with a common and tragical fate. In any case I think it would be advisable to carefully explore the immediate vicinity of this tomb, which possibly indicates the existence of a large or small necropolis belonging to either Beit Dejan or Saferiyeh. The actual spot is in the territory of Beit Dejan.*

These two villages—Beit Dejan and Saferiyeh—undoubtedly represent two ancient sites.

For a long time the first was supposed to be identical with the Beth Dagon (*Βῆθ Δαγών*—*Kaphār Daγών*) of Eusebius and St. Jerome, which they regarded as the Biblical Beth Dagon of the tribe of Juda, and described as being between Diospolis (Lydda) and Yabneh. The modern identification

* Joshua xv, 41, *בֵּית דָּגוֹן*, the house of Dagon, the celebrated god of the Philistines. "Dajûn" (Note). I believe I have found a mention of this locality, Dajûn, in the Samaritan chronicle "El Tholledoth," under the form of Tsadjoun, "Abraham, son of Our of Tsadjûn, is the father of the children of Tobiyah and of the children of Gala. ("Asiatic Journal," 1869, pages 443 and 405, the translation of Neubauer.)

There is also mention of this place in the Arabic Treatise on Geography of *Moqaddesî*, which is of great importance. I am not able to quote the passage exactly, not having either my previous MS. note or the later publication of the text by M. Goeje by me, but in it the different routes branching away from Ramleh are enumerated: the road to Lydda, to Jaffa, to Egypt, etc., and finally, the road to Dajûn (*داجون*), "which leads to the town of that name."

seems to me to be open to question. About seven years ago I discovered to the south, and towards Sitt Nefiseh, an ancient site called *Dajûn*, which does not appear in the Name Lists, and which answers quite as well as Beit Dejan to the description of the Beth Dagon given by Eusebius and St. Jerome, and from a topographical point of view even better, for we cannot say that Beit Dejan is situated between Lydda and Yalneh, while *Dajûn* actually is; hitherto the latter place has escaped the attention of explorers, and its name is not marked on the Survey map. *Dajûn* is certainly worthy of exploration, and it is one of the places which I have marked on my programme. With regard to Saferiyeh, Van de Velde has suggested that it is the episcopal *Σαφιρᾶα*, which is mentioned in several ecclesiastical documents, and which has been supposed to lie a little more to the south-east near Safend. If future explorations lead to the discovery of a Christian necropolis in the position which I have indicated, the hypothesis of Van de Velde will gain weight. I shall not lose sight of this interesting question, and I propose to commence further excavations directly I have a favourable opportunity.

It would be necessary to bore round about the tomb we have already found. I must add that owing to the suspicious disposition of the fellahin we were unable to find out the exact date of the discovery, or the circumstances which attended it. Upon consulting my old note-books, I came across the following passage written at Jaffa in 1874, "There is a talk of an ancient tomb having been recently discovered at Saferiyeh." But at that time I had not sufficient leisure to allow me to verify the report. I am inclined to attribute to this period the carving in of the side of the sarcophagus. I am assured that the fellahin often search for ancient tombs with good results. The people of Yahudiyyeh, a little village to the north of Saferiyeh, are the cleverest at it; and I am told that for this purpose they use long iron bars, with which they bore into the ground.

I must verify these reports, and endeavour to have an interview with these fellow archæologists.

II. EXPEDITION TO AMWĀS.

(EMMAUS-NICOPOLIS).

On the 25th June last, feeling somewhat better and being able to spare a little time from the affairs of the Vice-Consulate, I determined to make a two days' expedition to Ramleh, Goubab, Latrûn, Amwās, and Lydda, the chief object of my little tour being to examine the ruins of the church at Amwās, and especially a Hebrew inscription which has lately been dis-

covered there. Not being well enough, however, to bear the fatigue of riding I was obliged to go by carriage, a mode of progress which proved most awkward. I reached Ramleh at eight o'clock in the morning, and whilst the horses were being baited I took a hurried ramble through the bazaar and the town, and talked to some of the inhabitants, who were most of them old acquaintances, with a view to further explorations at Ramleh. It is a most interesting town, but as a rule it is neglected by travellers, as they usually pass through it at night. It is chiefly on account of its Mussulman antiquities that it deserves attention. The Crusaders, also, erected some important buildings, notably a fine church, which is now transformed into a mosque, and of which we made a plan and drawings with the aid of M. Lecomte in 1874. I drew especial attention to a fine and curious relief on the lintel of the door of the minaret, and of which I possess a very good drawing.

During my short halt, a workman of the town brought me a fragment of a Cufic inscription. I bought it of him rather by way of encouragement than for any actual value that it possessed. It is very necessary to act on this principle in Palestine in order to obtain things of real importance. A little money thus expended often has the best results in the future. It is only sowing to reap. I have always followed this system, and hitherto it has repaid me a hundredfold. On this fragment amongst other legible words I find سنة, year—but the date which should follow

and which would make it of value has unluckily disappeared. At Ramleh, both in the public and private cemeteries and religious buildings, there are a great number of ancient Arabic inscriptions which might furnish really valuable materials for a collection of Mussulman epigraphs.

In about an hour's time we recommenced our journey towards Amwās. Soon after leaving Ramleh we noticed towards the south south-east and to the right of the road, Abu Shushah and Tel Yezer, commanding all this region, in which one notices the commencement of the orographic upheaval which further on develops itself in the mountains of Judaea. It is difficult to understand how this site, which is undoubtedly that of the ancient Gezer, and which is so visible to all travellers on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, can so long have escaped the notice of archaeologists and explorers.

The strategic importance of this point alone should have sufficed to attract attention to it; Abu Shushah, Kubab and Latrūn (the fortress of Amwās) form a triangle which completely commands the entrance to the mountains of Judaea. And this explains the number of battles fought in this region at the time of the Seleucides and the Maccabees.

At about eleven we arrived at Latrūn, having passed Kubab, which I hoped to examine on the way back. So far we had got on very well save for the rough joltings caused by the bad condition of the so-called carriage road, which was made about twelve years ago between Jaffa and Jerusalem. This road passes one end of Latrūn, which lies on the right

of it, but Amwās is some little distance from it on the opposite side. I was anxious to proceed there at once, but the heat had become intense, and I hesitated at carrying out my intention of mounting one of the carriage horses and riding to the church. Instead of doing so I told the coachman to turn off the high road and drive down a road which turns off from it a little beyond the "blockhaus" between Kubab and Latrūn, and which leads straight to Amwās at a distance of rather more than a mile. This road I believe to be really the old Roman way which ran from Emmaus-Nicopolis (Amwās) to Gezer, and which crosses the modern road to Jerusalem at an angle of about 45°. It is the same road by which Eusebius and St. Jerome measured the four miles which they gave as the distance between these two towns. I must admit that I speedily repented my resolution of driving along it, for after rumbling on for a few hundred yards over large boulders the carriage gave a violent jolt and was turned over by a sort of embankment. The shock was terrible. My head came in contact with an iron bar, and for some moments I remained under the carriage completely stunned. At length I succeeded in disengaging myself, and with the help of some fellahin, who ran to the coachman's aid, we succeeded in lifting the carriage up again, and in the end I did what I ought to have done at first, mounted one of the carriage horses and in a few minutes reached the ruins of the church. There I found that a little building had been erected to facilitate a surveillance over the work of exploration which has been undertaken at the expense of Mlle. St. Cricq. Captain Guillemot is directing it with much zeal and intelligence, and several ecclesiastics had come from Jerusalem to view a discovery which they suppose will supply a perfect proof of the truth of a religious tradition to which I shall refer later on. As soon as I had recovered from the effects of my shaking, I proceeded to examine the inscription which was the principal object of my journey. In default of photographs I must give a short description of it. Unluckily the photographs I took with the gelatine bromide process proved very imperfect when I developed them at home. Doubtless the plates were injured by the overturning of the carriage. But I shall be able to replace them directly I go to Jerusalem, as the monument has now been transported to Bethlehem. It consists of a capital of white marble in false curved Ionic style, coarsely and irregularly sculptured. On one side between the two traditional volutes is a cartouche in form of a *titulus*, having to the right and the left the two little side pieces which it is supposed to be fixed by. On the cartouche is an inscription written in two lines, separated by a horizontal stroke and engraved in Archaic Hebrew (that is to say Phœnician) characters. It can easily be deciphered ברוך שם לעולם "Blessed be His name for ever!" It is exactly the reading which I had suggested from the imperfect copy of the inscription sent to me on its first discovery, but from that I could only give my intuitive conclusion, and I felt a certain doubt as to its accuracy. On the other side, disposed in a circle, is the inscription ΕΙC ΘΕΟC εἰς θεός. —"There is one God." Finally I discovered a large mason's sign, on the part

intended to be placed downwards on the top of the shaft of the column.

It is a sort of **S** and I suspect it is more likely to prove a numerical letter. To complete the description of the capital, I soon found on one side an eight-pointed star contained in a circle; and on the other side a sort of "fasces" tied with a band.

The capital was found in the pavement of the left hand side amongst other miscellaneous remains, used in like manner for paving this part of the building at some epoch which it would be well to know.

The formula $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ though it may be equally well applied as a general dogma of any one of the three great monotheistic religions, is in this form essentially Christian. It occurs very frequently in the stone inscriptions of Syria where it was apparently very popular. Probably it was from there that it passed into the creed of Islam under the form تَوَاسَّ —god alone. A glance at M. Waddington's Greek and Latin inscriptions in Syria, shows us how frequently it occurs either laconically, as in the present instance, or else accompanied by words which more precisely define its scope.

As examples I may cite the following:—

On the lintel of a door at Oum-el-Jemal (Nabat)-

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma + \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ with the cross.*

On another lintel at Dāna (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ [\acute{o}]\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, $\beta\omicron\eta\ \theta\acute{\eta}\tau\omega$ —(of the year 483) †

On a lintel at Kokanaya (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (of the year 318).‡

On a lintel at Katoura (Antioch)—

$\text{Ἰησοῦν Χριστέ, βοηθελ, εἰς θεὸς μόνος}$ (of the year 331).§

On the doors at Dellouza (Carriotide and Apamena).

+ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, etc.||

On a lintel at Deir Seta (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\eta\ \theta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\alpha\sigma\iota\upsilon$ (of the year 411).¶

At Domeir (Damascus)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ [\beta]\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \theta\eta[\nu]$.**

At Dama (Trachonite)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \beta\omicron\eta$ $\text{Το βειη.}++$

At Salmeustha (Batan)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \beta\omicron\eta\ \theta\omicron[s]$.‡‡

At Oum-er-rumman (Nabathæan)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta[\epsilon\omicron\varsigma]$.§§

* No. 2,066. † No. 2,689. ‡ No. 2,682. § No. 2104; notice the strong form of monotheistic affirmation. ¶ No. { 2,606 } or 600. ¶ No. 2078.
** No. 2,562 b. †† No. 2,451. ‡‡ No. 2,262. §§ No. 2,057.

At Deir-el-meyas (Nabathæan)—

[Eἰς] θεὸς ὁ βο[η]θ[ων].*

At Bastra (Nabathæan)—

Eἰς θεὸς κανος [] 'Αμην.†

It would be easy to multiply examples of this formula. I will conclude by citing Sinaic inscriptions, one of Jezzín (region Sidon)‡ another of Cyprus (Golos)§—an amulet belonging to M. Perétié with εἰς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν κακά—and especially an inscription at Arzouf-Apollonia εἰς θεὸς ὁ ζων.

The Christian character of this formula is clearly demonstrated by these examples. It is probably of Jewish origin, and must have sprung from the well-known verse (the fourth) in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy,|| which contains the word יהוהאחד, Jehovah, rendered in the Septuagint by κυριος εἰς, and which precedes the dissertation on the Commandments. It is worthy of remark that this formula is generally found inscribed above the entrance doors, as ordained in the ninth verse (with regard to the Commandments, of which it is, so to say, the preamble), “and thou shalt write them on the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.”

This Jewish connection agrees well with the double inscription on our capital, in which the Hebrew and Greek are so closely associated, and of the former of which I will endeavour to give some details. The sense seems to me quite clear, though I foresee that attempts may be made to give other readings in order to justify certain preconceived opinions. But I think that my reading of it will be accepted by all those who have had any real experience of Semitic epigraphs: “*Blessed be His Name for ever*”—in reference, naturally, to the Name of God. The phrase seems to have been taken literally (with the omission of only one word) from Psalm lxxii, verse 19, “And blessed be His [glorious] Name for ever.” It is exactly the anthem of the Roman Liturgy, “*Sit Nomen Domini benedictum in secula*.” There is a similar form which frequently prefaces the

inscriptions of religious offerings at Palmyra, לברוך שמה לעלמיה “to

Him Whose Name is blessed for ever.” Making allowance for phonetic and grammatical variations between Hebrew and the Aramaic dialect in use at Palmyra, it is word for word the same as the formula which we

* No. 2073 b.

† No. 1918, or rather Εἰς θεὸς 'Αμην κανος (*sic*); M. Waddington corrects by καλος—perhaps it should read (ὁ)κανος—sufficing, and to be compared to the Arabic formula “God, He is enough,” and “God sufficeth me; He alone is enough.”

‡ E. Renan, “*Miss. de Ph.*,” p. 20.

§ Collected by M. Colonna, Accalok.

|| It is, properly speaking, the axiom of monotheism, besides which it plays an important part in the Jewish liturgy.

are considering. Very often the dedicatory word ל, "to" is omitted,* and the formula appears in the shape of a simple exclamatory invocation, בריך שמה לעלמא, "His Name is blessed," or "blessed be His Name for ever!"

That we find this ancient Hebrew inscription on this particular capital is certainly very extraordinary, more especially from a palaeographical point of view. For, in the first instance, if we adhere to the now well-known law which governed the development and changes in Hebrew writing, we should have to place the date of this inscription (written as it is in Phœnician characters) at a period long anterior to the Christian era, whilst, on the other hand, the style of the capital, and the presence of the Greek inscription (which from its appearance we should attribute to the fifth or sixth centuries after Christ) "on its opposite side," quite contradict this conclusion.

We cannot possibly suppose that the two inscriptions belong to different periods. Plastically the one is the pendant of the other, and the longer sentence seems equally a grammatical sequence of the other, as though we had to deal with a mixed phrase, half Greek, half Hebrew: "*there is only one God, may His Name be blessed for ever!*" Also it must be acknowledged that in the Hebrew part of it the word God is understood. This ellipsis certainly is not opposed to Semitic ideas, as we can see by referring to the formulas at Palmyra, which have just been cited.

Whatever they may be, these two phrases seem inseparably joined one to the other, both with regard to their position and their age. This leads us to ask why they should have used, several centuries after Christ, a Hebrew alphabet which, according to all historical and archaeological researches, had fallen into complete disuse, having been replaced by the square characters. There is but one possible reply to this question, namely, that it was an *artificial archaism*, similar to those which have been found on Jewish coins. On them we also find inscriptions in the ancient Phœnician characters. Though we ought to make some exceptions with regard to the earliest coins, the evidence with regard to the later utterances is convincing, those, for instance, which took place under Barchochebas in 135 A.D. These epigraphic anachronisms have their parallels in other countries and periods, and are easily accounted for by the national or religious prejudices, which caused the Jews then in certain cases to make use of the ancient Hebrew alphabet, which had already become important through disuse. This factitious revival, however, must not put us on the wrong scent. Upon carefully examining the palaeography of the inscription on this capital, one feels at once convinced that it belongs to about the same period as the above-mentioned coins. It is not impossible that it was

* Psalm cxiii, 2; cxv, v. 2. Daniel ii, v. 20. I would cite as examples the following numbers from the collection of M. de Vogüé: "Syria (Central)," Nos. 78, 79, 82a, 82b, 85, 87, 88, 90, 94, 100, 101, 112, 115. M. de Vogüé has already drawn attention to the similarity of this Palmyrian formula and the Jewish and Christian invocation.

either from them, or from documents of the same character, that the graver of the inscription took his models for the letters. I have not the necessary materials by me to enable me to make a careful comparison, or to determine the exact issue of coinage, which it might have been, as for that purpose it would be necessary to have the actual specimens before one's eyes in order to examine them. I must content myself with pointing out the curious form of the *vau*, which occurs three times, and which is almost identical with that generally adopted on the copper coins, which are supposed to belong to the earliest period,* and which form but seldom appears in the subsequent utterances. I would call attention also to the little hook which forms the lower part of this letter **ו**. This

peculiarity is quite in accordance with the tendency in the Hebrew alphabet to curve (towards the left) the tails of the lower part of the letters **ו**. The word **שמי** is separated from **לעולם** by a visible point. We know that the separation of words by means of a dot is found in the oldest form of Semitic epigraphy.

Before endeavouring to fathom the motive with which so curious an inscription came to be made, it is necessary first to inquire why it was graven upon a column, and also for what purpose this column can have been used.

There are examples of inscriptions having been placed on capitals, for instance, in Cilicia, at Cyinda, at Tarsus, and Mopsuesta; but keeping within the limits of Palestine, I may mention one which I discovered at Nablus, on the capital of one of the columns of the large mosque,† and which, if I remember rightly, runs thus **ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΙΑΚΚΟΥ** *Lucius Iacchas*. This epigraph is really very different to the one we are considering—it evidently has reference to the name of the giver of the column, and is therefore similar in appearance rather than in reality.

I have already mentioned that the lower side of our capital possesses a mason's sign. We know that not only in the early mediæval, but also in the early classical and Byzantine periods, these signs were very often the

* As far as I can judge from an imperfect reproduction which I have, the copper money attributed to the period of the first revolt and issued by Simon, has the shin, the ayin, the lamed, the resh, and the vau, very like the ones on our inscription.

† On the abacus of a capital in the Corinthian style, at the western extremity of the nave and the second column of the northern row. More than this, at one of the angles of the volute there is a B, probably a numerical letter signifying No. 2, and on noticing the position of the column we find it is really the second of the row. The conclusion which may be drawn from this latter accordance of number and position, is that for the churches erected at the time of the Crusades (and since turned into mosques by the Mussulman), the builders made use of foundations and materials which had belonged to more ancient edifices, and that they paid attention to their position. I think I have proved the existence of the same thing in the Great Mosque of Gaza.

actual initial of the masons—the mark of the builders. But I doubt whether this is the case in the present instance, on account of the nature of the sign which I am more inclined to consider a numerical letter; the *episema Fac*. If it had been any other letter, one might have supposed it to be as an initial of the name of the workman, but at this epoch the *Fac* was no longer a letter, but a number pure and simple, signifying 6. On this hypothesis our capital is marked number six, which naturally leads to the conclusion that there were at least six similar capitals. I say similar, for had they been exactly alike, it would not have mattered which of the six shafts received them, consequently, the numbering of them would have been useless. This care in marking the position which they were to occupy, shows us that they were sufficiently alike to satisfy the requirements of architectural symmetry, and perhaps also to be mistaken one for the other, and seems also to prove *the presence of inscriptions which had to be placed in certain progression or in a particular order, as it is not impossible that they formed a series of sentences*. This last conjecture seems to me quite plausible, for whatever architectural combinations we may imagine, we should never regard a column as being entirely isolated. It must at all events have had a pendant, and this second capital would also have devices and inscriptions corresponding to the one discovered, or would more or less repeat them. But if we accept the sign as meaning six, this would bring under our consideration a group of not less than six columns. Looking at it in point of size, the capital is not large. The lower part, which is notched in a circle (or rather elliptically) in order that it may fit on to the shaft, measures in diameter, taken at two points, and running parallel, 0.31m. or 0.42m. The diameter of the column near the summit could not then have exceeded 0.36m. or 0.37m., which, taking the largest system of proportion, would only give a column of very moderate height. The height would naturally be limited by the distance at which the characters could be read, and the letters are far from large, so that we cannot recognise in it a portion of a large edifice; nor does it seem possible that it can have been one of the columns of the church, in which it now, after unknown vicissitudes, forms part of the paving. At the most, it could only have formed part of some interior erection, an altar, a ciborium, or even a baptistery. If the original number of columns may be taken at six, they might have been disposed in a circle, or else in a rectangular or hexagon form. I remember various specimens of baptisteries, built in the shape of a hexagon—there is one at Sienna, another at Parma, one at Aquileia, and in Central Syria there is one at Deir Seta.*

On this hypothesis the presence of religious axioms might be easily explained, provided that they were merely Greek Christian mottoes, like the almost hackneyed $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, and others of the same class which we meet with so frequently on the religious buildings in Syria. If the inscription is connected with a baptistery, one might recall the verses

* De Vogüé, "Syr. Centr. Arch. civ, et rel.," p. 117.

inscribed on the architraves of the one of St. John at Latrûn, which was constructed by Constantine, and restored by Sextus III.* But the appearance of a Hebrew inscription (and that inscription in archaic characters) is an unprecedented occurrence for which it is most difficult to account. One could understand it a little more easily had the inscription been written with square characters, such as were used at the period at which the capital was made, for we know that the influence of the Jewish over the Christian ritual was sufficiently great—especially in Palestine—to admit of the use of a language which had already given to the Christian liturgies such words as Hosanna, Alleluiah, Amen, etc. It is possible that if I had the minute directions contained in the “*Guide de la peinture du Mont Athos*,” before me (which unluckily I have not), I might find a proof that, in certain forms of Byzantine art, the use of short Hebrew epigraphs was permitted. In any case we know that in Christian art the square Hebrew characters were then still used for writing the ineffable name of Jehovah. It is no more extraordinary than the design of a seven-branched candlestick, an essentially Jewish symbol, found upon a fine capital which was discovered at Beit Jibrin, and of which we made a drawing during my explorations in 1874. I expect this column must have belonged to the ancient Church of Sandanna, which had some points of resemblance with that of Amwās. But I must repeat that the great difficulty lies in the archaic form of the characters. The half Hebrew, half Greek inscription, which I discovered on the shaft of a column, and below a seven-branched candlestick, in the mosque at Gaza, was in the square character.† One may next inquire whether the inscription may by some chance have been of Jewish origin, in the case of the capital having belonged to some synagogue. But it is scarcely worth while lingering over such a supposition. Even putting aside the thoroughly Christian formula *Εἰς Θεόν*, it is certain that a Jew at that period would have made use of the square character, for we have a number of authentic Jewish inscriptions in Palestine dating from the first century of our era, and without an exception they are written in square characters. And even if we attempt to attribute it to the Samaritans, who have kept to the ancient characters down to the present day, we do not find in it any of the peculiarities which distinguish the Samaritan alphabet in the inscriptions on the most ancient of their (known) buildings, some of which date from the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. It also seems very improbable that we should find a Samaritan building at Amwās. The inscriptions on the capital were evidently engraved from a Christian point of view.

With regard to the strange use of the archaic characters, it seems to me to have proceeded from a determined design which is worth our

* See the “*Liber pontificalis*.”

† This inscription, which I hope to describe at greater length elsewhere, is distinctly Jewish, and probably a dedication to a certain “Ananias, son of Jacob;” it is instead of a statue, the erection of statues not being allowed on account of the iconoclastic tendencies of the Jews.

consideration. According to my view the author calls attention to the past Jewish dispensation, a time which even then was comparatively remote. It is probably to the tradition, in commemoration of which the church was built, that we must turn whilst searching for the solution of the enigma. Here we are met by the grave questions—what was the name of this church, and what right has Amwās to be identified with Emmaus of the New Testament, the place at which Jesus supped with two of his disciples after His resurrection, and was recognized by them through the breaking of bread? It is no part of my present purpose to enter into a discussion with regard to this delicate topographical and religious question, one which has already raised numerous archaeological controversies, not to say quarrels. But of this we may be certain, namely, that in the fourth century Eusebius and St. Jerome, both reliable authorities, considered the Emmaus of the New Testament to be identical with the town called Nicopolis, which is decidedly the Amwās of the Arabs. In addition to the many proofs which have been adduced in favour of this identification, I will add one which to me seems conclusive, and which I obtained through my discovery of the true site of Gezer: the inscriptions which I found engraved on the rock give the very name of this town. The position of Gezer, then, being fixed, so to speak, with mathematical accuracy, we gain the key to that of Emmaus, from which point the Onomasticon takes its bearing in giving the position of and distance to Gezer—and this measurement and description only applies to Amwās).

The house of Cleophas (one of the two disciples) in which the miraculous manifestation is said to have taken place, was at an early period transformed into a church. St. Jerome even speaks of the existence of a basilica; and Willibald, in the eight century, writes as though he had seen it, unless, indeed, he merely imitates St. Jerome. It would indeed be singular if the Christians, ready as they were to preserve and commemorate the smallest incidents in the life of Jesus (even on the slightest foundations) should have neglected to consecrate so distinct a tradition by the erection of a church.

We can understand that from the time when Amwās-Nicopolis* came to be considered identical with the Emmaus of the New Testament, the ancient church (of which this capital is apparently a remnant) would

* The ancient name of *Amwās*. As a secondary proof, I would point out that at the time of St. Jerome, the place which he identified with Nicopolis apparently bore a Hebrew-Semitic name equivalent to the actual Arabic Amwās. He explains the name of Emmaus as being *populus abjectus*. He evidently alludes to the Hebrew words עַם + מַאֲוָה *Am + Maons*. This etymology is rather far-fetched, but it shows us that St. Jerome analysed in his own method the name *Ammaous* with an ayin similar to the Arab form *Amwās*. Also that, for this reason, he preferred the form עַם + מַאֲוָה to any of the other forms used in the Talmud. Moudjir-el-din says that the Arabic name عِوَّاس is pronounced 'Amwās or 'Amawas. In the place itself I discovered a third method of pronunciation, *Ommās*.

become associated with the sacred and half-proved tradition. But even this does not explain the presence of the Hebrew inscription. We allow that this epigraph represented very nearly the laudatory formula for the blessing of bread according to the Jewish ritual) and was, perhaps, in reference to the act which, according to the account of the Evangelist, revealed to the two disciples the personality of the Founder of the Last Supper. But was it not quite apart from the end they had in view, to engrave this formula in characters which had ceased to be used long before the time of Jesus? The use of the ordinary square characters would have been quite sufficient. Why then this effort of erudition? Was it really a reference to the evangelical tradition, or was it not rather a pointing back to the earlier Jewish period? For the present I can only ask this question without pretending to solve it, though I hope to return to the subject. In the meantime I will point out one fact which furnishes food for reflection. Excepting in the two passages of St. Jerome and Willibald to which I have just referred, ancient writings, although containing a great deal about the Emmaus of the Gospel, are almost silent with regard to the church of Amwās. It is not until much later that any reference is made to it, and then under quite a different character.

It is then called the "Church of the Maccabees.* At present I cannot imagine for what reason this surprising name could have been given to it, nor can I understand how it originated. I cannot even say whether the writers, who have preserved this appellation, and who presumably had it upon the authority of earlier traditions, refer to the Asmonean princes or to the seven brothers of the same name who, according to tradition, were martyred under Antiochus Epiphanes. At an early period these two sets of Maccabees were already confused. Even St. Jerome falls into this error, which became general, and was favoured by the universal veneration in which the Jewish martyrs of Antioch were held (in the fourth century) throughout the whole of eastern and even in some parts of western Christendom.† In these more or less fabulous stories we see that they were the prototype of all the Christian martyrs. I should not be inclined to rely on this appellation as evidence, for the name may have been given to the church of Amwās at a later period, though if it has any foundation it would very well account for the use of the archaic characters, taken as they were from the ancient national alphabet, which was affected by the Maccabees and was a known characteristic of their dynasty. Certainly in no place would this perplexing epigraphical resuscitation be more likely to occur than in a church consecrated to the name of the Asmonean princes, or to the other Maccabees who were identified with them through an erroneous but wide-spread legend. Only on this hypothesis we must

* Tucher (1479), Mariti (1767), Quaresmius (1616), and several more ancient writers speak of the church of the Maccabees, a little distance from Latrūn and north of the road.

† The church of St. Just, at Lyons, was originally dedicated to the Maccabees.

allow that this appellation of the church was given after the time of St. Jerome, who, confusing the identity of the Asmoneans and the seven brothers of Antioch, associates their memory with Modin, but *never* with Emmaus. In the endeavour to reconcile all these conflicting points, we may imagine that the church or rather basilica of Emmaus was erected on the supposed site of the house of Cleophas, the scene of the miraculous supper—and that it contained a chapel, a confessional or a “martyrion” especially dedicated to the Maccabees. And this martyrion possibly contained, according to a usual custom, some relics taken from their actual sepulchre at Modin—the present Medyeh.* In which case the capital would belong to one of the columns which sustained the *ciborium*, or else may have ornamented the altar itself.

We know that the ciborium, a sort of baldachin placed over an altar or martyrion in a basilica, was supported by columns, the number of which might be two, four, or six, which latter number reminds us of the possible numeral on our capital.

If we follow this supposition still further, we may imagine that the designer of the Hebrew inscription on this capital destined to form part of the martyrion of the Maccabees, took for his palaeographical model the great inscription on the tomb of the Asmoneans at Modin, and which perhaps contained almost literally our formula, with even other phrases which were reproduced on the other capitals of the ciborium. I need hardly say that I offer these conjectures with *great reserve*, and merely in order to give the data of a problem which still remains to be solved.

Whatever it is, the Hebrew inscription on the capital of Amwas is a most curious discovery, in spite of, or rather on account of its *not* belonging to a very remote period.

It is incontestably in the most recent form of the archaic Hebrew characters, and in virtue of its being the “terminus adquem,” it deserves to be inserted in the “Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.”

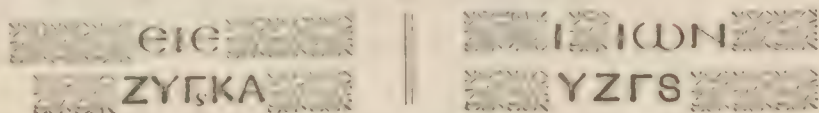
I cannot help being grateful to the good fortune which allowed me to bring to light (at an interval of a dozen years) both the most ancient and also the most modern known inscriptions in the archaic Hebrew characters, of which at present the Moabite Stone and the capital of Amwās form the alpha and omega.

After having examined the capital which has formed the subject of this long digression, I went and looked at the ruins of the church, a portion of which has already been excavated (thanks to the efforts of Mlle. de St. Cricq) under the direction of M. Guillemot. The two lateral arches have been entirely freed. The body of the church has, however, still to be excavated, and there, perhaps, we may make some interesting discoveries. According to my idea there is a chance of our finding in it some historical mosaic pavement, containing perhaps inscriptions which will throw *more*

* The distance from Medyeh to Amwās, as the crow flies, would, I think, be about seven Roman miles.

light on the past history and origin of the church, than all the suppositions to which for the present we are reduced. I think that the idea of excavating this church originated with me in the year 1874. It was true I only took soundings, but they proved to me that of the church erected previous to the Crusades a portion had been used again. It is another point of resemblance between the church of Amwās and that of Beit Jibrin. According to the laws of mediæval masonry, which I discovered and explained seven years ago, we are able to clearly distinguish the work of the Byzantine period from that of the Crusades, tracing it block by block. Further than this, on several stones cut or recut by the Crusaders, I have come across some lapidary signs which I shall add to the large collection I already have of these curious marks, and which some day I hope to publish an account of. Nothing is of more value for the critical study of the ancient buildings of Palestine, in the classing of which there is often such difficulty, than these technical indications, which are really a better guide than the considerations of style, which so often prove deceptive. I shall have occasion to give further details of the church of Amwās, the rest of which we hope soon to bring to light.

A few days after my visit to the ruins, M. Guillemot sent me a cutting of a fragment of an inscription, which in like manner had been discovered amongst the mixed pavement on the left side of the church, where the enigmatical capital was found. It is a piece of marble, with portions of an inscription on either side. The Greek characters, belonging to the Byzantine period, which can be traced on it, are fairly well executed. The following will give an idea of the inscription :—



It may be seen that it was no easy matter to decide on the words of which these letters are the remains. At first sight I was inclined to give as the reading of the first word on side A.—ε [τ] ε [ι] year. But the τ is indistinct, and might be Γ. Again one is tempted to imagine it ἐγε [ίπε] especially as there seems to be an indication of the foot of an Ι after the second Ε. It is not impossible that it may be a quotation from the Psalms,* 'Ο ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, etc.

This verse was used in the Christian epigraphy of Syria, as we may see by the inscription on the lintel of a door at el Barra, which is 'Εγείρει ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, etc. The first line of side B may perhaps be [ἀγ] ἰων, "of the saints." The second lines of both sides most likely were the same word. The fact of the two inscriptions being back to back seems to indicate that the inscription was either repeated or continued, and also that the stone was intended to be viewed from both sides.

This word in the second line is in both abridged, and contains the

* Psalm cxiii, v. 7.

letters **YZYΓs** followed, at least on side A, by **KA** [I].* The restitution of letters is naturally limited to a small number of combinations. *ΕὐΖυγος* belongs to poetical language, and would be out of place here. *Βουζύγιος*, *Βουζύγιον* is no better. There remains *συζυγία* and its collaterals. But *συζυγία* may be taken in several senses; that of marriage might perhaps be appropriate. This supposition accords well enough with the *ἔτα*, and implies a distinct date. If I had even the index to the "Corpus Inscriptionum Grecarum," I could find out if *συζυγία* was ever employed for dates. We may suppose that this fragment belonged like the capital to the ancient church, and was re-utilised for paving.

In going through even the village of Amwās, I noticed several ancient fragments, capitals, and bits of frieze, etc., which testify to the importance of the ancient Nicopolis.

Above the door of one house I noticed a sort of vase or funeral urn made of black basaltic stone, and sunk into the wall, the concave side outermost. All round it were engraved characters, but of what nature I could not tell owing to their height. It required a ladder to reach them. I very much wanted to get at this vase, but the proprietor of the house was at that time imprisoned at Jerusalem with several other villagers who had been arrested after a violent conflict which had caused the death of a man. But it will be a thing to return to. In the immediate vicinity of the village the peasants are led to seek for ancient foundations in order to extract material for new buildings. I noticed here and there the traces of large ancient buildings. In one of their explorations they brought to light a huge block of calcite.† It had apparently been the lintel of a door. Inscribed on the cartouche is a Greek inscription, three lines in length. The characters are irregular, and so much worn away that it is very difficult to decipher them. I took a copy of them, from which I have made the following letters. The inscription seems to read—

**EYTIKHT
OΓAMOC
ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ**

ἐντχ [ε] ἱτ [ε] ὁ γάμος διὰβίου.

I must mention, however, that I am doubtful about several of the letters. The formula *ἐντχῆτε* has occurred in Syro-Greek epigraphs — and the orthographical form *ἐπιχῆτε* is not peculiar. We may compare it to an inscription on the lintel of a door at Kseir, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, **EYTYXI ZCUIAE KTICTA**. M. Renan, who discovered it, thinks it is a funeral inscription similar to No. 4564 in the "Corpus Inscript. Gr."‡ and another mentioned by M. de Sauley in his "Journey round the Dead

* Waddington, "Inscr. Gr. and Lat. of Syria," No. 2651.

† "Mission de Phénicie," p. 646. The name of the place Atabeh signifies threshold or lintel, and probably originated from this stone.

‡ Waddington, "Inscr. Gr. and Lat. of Syria," No. 2398.

Sea," both of which are funereal, and contain the *εὐτύχει* or *εὐτύχη*. I cannot say anything definite with regard to the first, not having it before me, but the second would certainly read *εὐψυχι*—which is a well known funereal exclamation. I doubt though whether the verb *εὐτυχεῖν* would be here taken in the funereal sense. In the following inscription of Deir el Leben (Auranite) it has a distinctly religious meaning, *Εὐσελθε χαίρων Παιε τοῦ κόσμου Εὐτυχεῖτε*. Several times we find the adverb *εὐτυχῶς feliciter*, in the ordinary dedication of an edifice—often associated with the expression *Αγάθῃ Τύχῃ*.* *Εὐτυχεῖτε* is exactly the Latin *valete*, by which it is translated in the imperial and proconsulate decrees of which we have epigraphs.†

The succeeding words seem to be *ὁ γάμος δια βίου*, so that the whole seems to constitute a sort of nuptial exclamation. It may be compared to a Syrian inscription (at Dāmā, Trachonite), which also refers to a marriage, and is one of those I cited as containing the formula *εἰς θεός*: it ends with a vow made by the constructor of the edifice: *χὴ ὁ βοθεσας (sic) εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν βοηθήσῃς εἰς τοὺς γάμους*. No one can exactly fathom the meaning of this expression *διὰ βίου*—it occurs pretty frequently in the Græco-Jewish epitaphs of Italy under scarcely recognisable forms—*Zà βίου, διὰ βίο*, "*dià via, à bios*," and its actual signification is not yet decided. I need not point out that it is most interesting to come across it in Palestine, the country where it originated, and on a monument which to all appearance is Christian. Some explain it as referring to earthly life, others consider it a funereal exclamation which alludes to the life eternal; a translation

from the verse in Daniel xii, 2; *עֲלֵי עֲלֵי* —*eis ζωὴν αἰώνιον*—*al vitam æternam*, equivalent to *διὰ βίου αἰωνίου*. Our inscription thus adds a new point to the problem. It remains for us to know whether it refers to the indissolubility of the human marriage tie according to the Christian ideas, or rather to the symbolic marriage under which image the New Testament and the early fathers designate the mystic union of Christ and the Church. Before giving a decision it would be necessary to know whether the lintel had belonged to a religious or to a private building; whether it formed part of a house destined for the reception of a bride, and ornamented accordingly with a device at once pious and gallant, or whether it belonged to some chapel.

We may compare this formula with various nuptial sentences written in letters of gold on glasses and other objects evidently given by Christians as wedding presents—for instance, the *feliciter nuptiis* of the

* For example, at Meschgough (Nabat), Wadd., *op. cit.*, No. 2053, shows us that we must correct No. 2491 from *ἐν τοχῶς* into *ἐν τυχῶς*; also No. 2197 in the same way, at least, if it be not a proper name, see *ἐδρυχῶς* at Ephes (Wadd., *op. cit.*, No. 150), and *ἐπὶ εὐτυχία* at Aphrodisias of Caria (*ibid.*, No. 594).

† For example, Wadd., *op. cit.*, gives (No. 866) a letter from Antonius the Pious to the Panhellenes of Æzanitide—it occurs before the final date. Also No. 877 ends with *εὐτυχεῖτε*.

celebrated golden medal struck on the occasion of the marriage of Marcius and Puleteria. It only requires the addition of the epithet *aternis* for us to find in it almost a literal translation of our Greek formula.

NOTE IV.

Jaffa, 19th November, 1881.

AN Arab of St. John of Acre has given me copies of two inscriptions, one of which is of considerable interest.

The first is from the village of Yerka, situated at a distance of about ten miles from St. John of Acre. It is in Greek, and as far as I can judge from the words which I have been able to decipher, it must be Christian. It is, however, incomplete, the right hand portion being still underground. The copy is too imperfect to be of much use, and I shall not risk giving an interpretation of it until I have at least a good squeeze. On the other side of the paper are more characters, apparently Greek, and copied perhaps from another inscription at the same place.

The second copy comes from St. John of Acre, and is sufficiently clear to admit of nearly all of it being read. It is the epitaph of a Frenchman, a certain Gautier Mein Abeuf, and of his wife Alemane.

Ici gist sire Gautier Meine-Abeuf qui tres (passa) an l'an de l'incarnation nostre Seign(e)r Jhu. Crit. (M) CCLXXVIII, a XX iors de ive, esc espouza Madame Alemane qui trespasa a XX (?) iors dou.

I send a slight sketch of the copy I have before me. I need hardly add that both the sketch and the above reading may need alteration when compared with the original. In the year 1275 the Crusaders were still in possession of Acre, their last Syrian stronghold. It was at that time and in that very city, which was so soon destined to fall again under the Mussulman yoke, that Charles of Anjou, through his representative the bailli Roger de St. Severin—disputed the crown of Jerusalem with Hugues III, endeavouring to gain what was already no more than an empty title.

I have been lucky enough to come across a document which enables me to identify the subject of our epitaph. I have found his name in a chapter granted by Jean de Ibelin—Sire de Barut—on 15th September, 1256, to the Teutonic Knights, letting them the Casale Imbert* and the appurtenances thereof, for a term of ten years. Amongst the witnesses we find the name of *Gautier Magnacheuf*. I do not know whether the spelling has been accurately given by the editors of this work, but the original character, written in French, is, I believe, preserved amongst the archives

* Situated between Tyro and Acre.

of Venice. Although the orthography is different, the identity of the name is, I think, certain. I would also point out that Gautier Maine Abeuf was very possibly a relative of Barthélemy Mainebœuf, one of the vassals of Julian, Sire of Sagette, whose signature we find at the end of a deed of sale drawn up for his suzerain in 1254.*

Meine Abeuf or Meine à beuf seems to me a merely different form of the name Mainebœuf, if it is really thus that these names are spelt in the original documents, which unluckily here are not accessible to me.

The name of the wife Alemane recalls that of the family of Aleman who played a somewhat important part in the Holy Land.† The inscription has various orthographic irregularities, and contains several points which deserve to be examined by experts. For instance, I do not know what to make of the character which ends the epitaph of the husband; perhaps it is indistinct at this point: one would naturally look for the name of a month—June or July perhaps.

The wife, it seems, died the same year, in the month of August, and apparently soon followed her husband to the grave; the exact date of her decease is uncertain, as the units following XX are indistinct.

The epitaph of Madame Alemane was, I conclude, added afterwards, and, as far as one can tell from the copy, was not so carefully engraved, for the letters are not divided by two points, as are those in the epitaph of the husband. But whatever its correct form may be, this inscription is none the less a precious record in connection with the history of the Crusaders.

A PHœNICIAN FUNEREA TABLET.

THE bronze tablet from the collection of M. Péretié, of Beyrout, of which Lieutenant Conder, R.E., published a description and a drawing,‡ is of so much interest as a work of art, and an illustration of the religious ideas of Western Asia, that I would venture to add some remarks upon it. In these notes I have chiefly drawn upon Assyrian and Babylonian sources, as it is evident upon the most casual inspection of the bronze, that the Phœnician artist has also engrafted the mythological conceptions and art representations of Assyria and Egypt, and even of the tribes of North Syria, the Hittites, into his representation of the Story of Death which he has portrayed in so weird a manner in this tablet. The mixed character of the sculpture is quite in agreement with the other examples of Phœnician metal work which have been preserved to us. In the bronze bowls from Cyprus, which form so valuable a portion of the Cesnola collection; and in

* Archives de Venise. *Mélanges diplomat.* Busta XV, No. 297; also "*Recherches sur la domination des Latins en l'Orient.*"



† Paoli *Codice Diplomatico* I, No. 123; also Ducange.

Ducange. *Les familles d'outre Mer.*, ed. Rey, pp. 505, 559.

‡ *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1881.

the examples from Nimroud, found by Sir Henry Layard, the same fusion of styles is met with. The more explorations are carried out on the shores, and among the islands of the Mediterranean, the stronger are the facts which accumulate to prove how greatly the Phœnicians had contributed to the spread of culture and civilisation westward. Yet, strange as it may seem, this enterprising race of "the cunning Phœnicians," who in their black ships bore to Greece her alphabet and schooled her in the early paths of art—these early navigators, whose ships passed by the bounding pillars of Heracles, and who, returning, carried back with them the wealth of many lands, leaving behind them colonies whose influence extends even to the present day—have bequeathed to us no distinctive art remains, no purely national style of architecture. They seem to have borrowed, adapted, transmitted, but never to have invented. It was this hardy race who carried abroad the teaching of the schools of Nineveh, the art, the myths and legends taught in the temple schools, and thus spread the learning and wisdom of the Chaldean over the Mediterranean. The alphabet which they bore to the western world, and made the script of commerce and diplomacy, was but a modification of the hieratic script of Egypt, which they had found too cumbrous for the exigencies of trade. So in Assyria and Babylonia had their ancestors on the shores of the Erythrean Sea, adopted from the inventive Akkadians the script of the land in order to pursue their vocation of trade. Cumbrous as the cuneiform syllabary was with its ideographs, determinatives, and polyphonic characters, these adaptive Semites had rendered it suitable to the required end. Art, mythology, and science had alike been borrowed and utilized by the kinsmen of the Phœnician in the Tigro-Euphrates valley. And if any conclusive proof of the way in which the Phœnician civilisation was made up of a mosaic of borrowings and adaptations was required, perhaps no more striking one could be produced than this tablet of which M. Péretié is the fortunate possessor. As I have pointed out in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," we may always see in the ideas which a nation held of the glories of the life to come—the state after death—an idealised form of the state of civilisation existent at that time. The heaven of the Assyrians was but an idealised life on earth; the god Am, the Assyrian Zeus, held in heaven his kingly court, and it was but a glorified king of Assur, with his Ninevite court. The North American Indian, whose daily existence is the hunter's life, sees his *Ælysium* in the happy hunting-grounds; and even the extent to which this may be carried, is shown by the Esquimaux's idea of heaven as a vast ice-house beneath ground, a conception which would seem irrational, were it not based on the earthly life.* This tablet of M. Péretié, with its symbolism gathered from so many sources, shows how mixed a character was the civilisation of Phœnicia. The figure which covers the back of the tablet, and grins over the top, is the demon of Death, "the devourer." The description of this figure given by Lieutenant Conder

* Rink. "The Esquimaux."

corresponds exactly with the figures of the Assyrian demon of death. The demon has four wings, a lion or dog's body, eagle claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The head is that of a lion or some beast of prey. This demon is again figured in the lower and largest compartment of the obverse of the tablet. This is certainly the "demon of death," the Namtar  or "destiny" of the Akkadians, a demon who was regarded as the chief opponent of "the life of man."* This demon, who was the servant of the Queen of Hades, or the "House of Death," the "Bit Mitru" or Arali, and was especially said to preside over that most terrible form of death in the East, "the plague." In that beautiful legend of the "land whence none return," the story of the descent of Istar into Hades (W.A.L. IV, pl. 31), Hades is called "the house of corruption," the abode of the god  IR-KALLA, a deity who bears the title of "the devourer," a name applicable to the demon of death, who is here fitly represented on this bronze as a beast of prey. The god of death, Namtar, was regarded as the son of Hea or Mal-ge, the Akkadian Pluto or Hades, and his wife, Nin-ki-gal or Allat, the Queen of the Tombland Arali, the Persephone of the Greeks. He was the servant of his mother, and when Istar, the rival Queen, penetrated into the land of death and its seven-walled city, it was Namtar or "Death" who was sent against her to afflict her with diseases in all her members. In my consideration of this story of death, which the Phœnician artist has derived from the Akkadian or Assyrian conception of that dread demon, I must reverse the order of explanation of the tiers or compartments of the obverse of the tablet, and commence with the lower, which affords us a glimpse of the land of death. Here we see depicted the voyage on the river of death, and the Assyrian origin of this tableau is very apparent. On the bank we see again the demon of death, who stands by the river of death. This tableau receives very full illustration from the voyage of Isdubar to visit the translated Tamzi or Adrakhasis, and to inquire of him the secret of immortality, which is detailed in the Xth of the Isdubar legends. Isdubar, to reach the abode of the Chaldean Noah, had to cross the waters of death, which no one had previously crossed, and to do this he has to gain the services of the Assyrian Charon, a deity whose name was Nes-Hea, the "lion of Hea," the god of the underworld, in whose boat the dead crossed the waters of death. The land where the translated Khasisadra dwelt was on the remote side of the river or waters of death, and its position is indicated in the Deluge Tablet. Khasisadra telling Isdubar of his translation, states that the gods took him "and caused him to dwell in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers." We may therefore consider the mythic house of death to have been in the extreme south of Babylonia, in the district now known as the Afadj. In these reedy marshes, with their dark

* Figures similar to this have been found at Nineveh, and one evil spirit thus represented was the demon of the hot south-east wind.—(Lenormant, "Chald. Magic.")

sluggish streams, was the dwelling of the departed, and through it flowed the river or "waters of death."* The representation of the stream which the Phœnician artist here gives, would seem to correspond to the Assyrian idea, as the river is flanked by tall dark weeds. The artist seems to have drawn in this compartment rather on Assyrian than Egyptian sources. But in the group of the voyagers on the river, we have one of those blendings of various conceptions which are so peculiar a characteristic of Phœnician art. The description of this group, by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., is as follows: "A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with a bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts." Here we have a fusion of the Asiatic and Egyptian conceptions of the Queen of the under-world. The type, however presented, is extremely interesting, as it shows certain local features connected with the worship of the mother goddess. In the form which the Phœnician artist has presented to us, we can see blended together many of the various conceptions of the great Asiatic mother-goddess, the goddess Anatha, or Anatis, whose worship was introduced into Egypt about the time of Seti I, of the XIXth Dynasty, and who was a war-goddess. On the rocks at Redosieh in Upper Egypt this goddess is represented as clad in warlike costume, mounted on a horse, and wielding a battle-axe: but her association with death is shown by a funeral tablet in the British Museum† where she is represented as standing on a lion, and holding in one hand flowers and in the other a pair of serpents. It is clear that the Phœnician artist has not confined himself solely to the form of this goddess as she appears in the Egyptian representations of the time of the XIXth Dynasty, but has also borrowed from the North Syrian form of the goddess as worshipped by the Hittites. The statue found at Jerablus or Carchemish, the sacred city of this deity, exhibits a somewhat similar conception to that of the Phœnician artist. The Hittite goddess had long locks, was full-breasted, and is represented as standing on a lion‡ or a cow§ both of which animals were sacred to her. It was this full-breasted goddess, the Nutrice of all nature, whose worship spread from Babylon to Ephesus. Neith, the Egyptian representative of this nature goddess, is represented as suckling crocodiles, and the statues of Artemis Polymastos represent her as giving nourishment to all the animal kingdom.|| This figure from the tablet of M. Péretié forms a link between

* The south point of the compass was with the Akkadian "the point of Arali," or the tomb.

† Figure in Sharpe's "Egyptian Inscriptions," and in Cooper's "Serpent Myths," *Vict. Inst.*, 1873. The name of this goddess occurs in the name Bent-Anat, the sister of Rameses II.

‡ On a sculpture at Milidijeh, on the Upper Euphrates.

§ A gem in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo.

|| See articles in the "Builder," 1880, on a "New Chapter in Art," where this connection is fully explained.

the representations of the mother goddess in Syria, Assyria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. Here, however, the Phœnician artist represents the mother goddess in her character of the great Earth Mother Demeter, who as mother of all living was also queen of all death, and mistress of $\Sigma \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Delta^{\Delta} \times$ as E-MAD-BAT or ARALI, the house of the land of death, "the tomb." There appear to have been in Assyrian and Akkadian mythology three mother goddesses of the under-world.

1. DAY-KI-NA. "The earth mother" or Demeter, the Dauke of of Damacius, the Baan or Bahu of Phœnician cosmogony, the בְּהַר of the Hebrew (Gen. i, 2).
2. NIN-KI-GAL. She was the queen of the great land, and dwelt in the palace of the under-world.
3. NIN-A-ZU. "The lady of the waters;" this was a title of the death goddess, and she appears in the XIIth Isdubar legend under this name.

Since the Akkadian age, when magic formulæ were passing into hymns and fetish spirits in deities, Nin-ki-gal and Nin-a-zu have changed genders. In a magical litany, W.A.L. II, pl. 19, the following weird description of death and the fight for the soul of the departed is given :—

Nin-ki-gal, spouse of Nin-azu,
May she cause him to turn his face to the place
Where she is.*
May the wicked spirits depart,
May they lay hold of each other.
The favourable demon and the propitious giant,
May they enter into the body.†

But in the later description of death and its dread queen which is preserved to us in the XIIth Isdubar legend, we see Nin-a-zu as the dark queen of death—

Oh Darkness! Darkness! mother Nin-a-zu,
Her mighty shade as a cloak covers him,
Her womb as a pit enfolds him.

This idea of the queen of death enfolding and enshrouding the dead man is one of the most beautiful in the Assyrian inscriptions; and the poetic idea of those who die returning to the embrace of the mother goddess is beautifully expressed. We see how closely this idea is followed in the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, where the dead Samuel was called from the palace of death wrapt in a mantle (1 Sam. xxviii, 14). Such are some of the ideas of the dread queen which centre round this figure, in which the Phœnician artist has embodied so many of the symbols of death current in the West of Asia.

The boat in which the goddess rides is in all probability the boat of

* The tomb-land.

† The struggle for the possession of the body and soul of the deceased.




Nes Hea, the "Lion of Hea," the Assyrian Charon; it may be the sacred ship of the king of the under-world (W.A.I. IV, pl. 25) in which the goddess sails over the waters of the sea of the Inferno.

I now pass to the second compartment, which deals more especially with the departed one for whom the tablet was made; and here we see again how much the Assyrian or Akkadian teaching has been followed. To illustrate this I will first quote a fragment from the XIIth Isdubar legend, to which I have already referred, which seems very graphically to ascribe portions of this tableau:—

On a couch he reclines, and
 Pure waters he drinks,
 Who in the battle was slain. Thou seest and I see*
 His father and his mother (guard) his head;
 His wife weeps over him.
 Those who are his friends (allies) in the field† are standing.
 Thou seest and I see*
 His spoil of the earth he regards not.
 Thou seest and I see*
 Those who are his offspring long for food. The food
 Which is placed in the tent‡ is eaten.

The two fish-clad creatures who stand by the couch are two spirit messengers of Hea, the life giver. The attributes of this god are clearly shown in a tablet of the Creation series—

Lord of the illustrious incantation, vivifier of the dead,
 Who to the hostile gods has granted a return,
 The homage they have rendered he has caused his opponents to bow
 down to;
 To fear them he made mankind:
 The merciful one with whom is life.

In this same hymn we find Hea, whom M. Lenormant has proved to be synonymous with the Musurus Oannes, entitled "the lord of prosperous life." In some cases Hea deputed his son Merodach, the Silik-mulu-khi, "protector of the god man," the work of raising the dead to life. The two demons who are fighting in this tableau are the evil spirits, the wicked    U-TU-KI or demons, who being ejected from the body of the dead man, are now fighting with each other: "Of each other they take hold," as the magic formula above quoted states. This ejection by Hea and his son Merodach of the devils or evil spirits which in the form of sickness or disease and even death possess the man is

* This passage is a dialogue between Isdubar and the witch who has raised the spirit of his friend and chief adviser Hea-bani, the Satyr. Hea-bani was to Isdubar what Samuel was to Saul.


† Heaven is regarded as a vast camp.

‡ This probably refers to some custom similar to the Egyptian offerings of food.

the great doctrine and basis of all the Babylonian religio-magic creed. The bearded figure on the right of this group is somewhat difficult to explain, it seems to me best explained as the shade or *εἰδωλον* of the man for whom the tablet was composed. The extent to which this idea of the soul as a transparent form of the body was very elaborately worked out among the Egyptians is shown by M. Renouf* in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology." The idea of the shade was not unknown to the Assyrian, as in the XIIIth Ishtar legend, from which we have already gained so much information, the spirit of Hea-bani when raised by the witch from Hades is said to be transparent like glass. This passage has been somewhat differently translated by Professor Sayce, but I think there can be little doubt about the reading, "The spirit of Hea-bani as glass from the earth ascended." I therefore, judging both from Egyptian and Assyrian analogies, think that we may see in the figure here represented as bearded and clad as the Phœnicians are represented on the monuments, the shade of the departed one for whom the tablet was engraved.

The two remaining compartments of this tablet are purely symbolical, and probably represent the deities of the Phœnician pantheon who were worshipped at the time when the tablet was made; and in them we see the same borrowing and appropriating of symbolism from surrounding nations. In the lower of the two tiers we have the gods and their bodily forms, while in the upper we have their symbols.

The deities all face to the right, and so commencing with the first, I will endeavour to explain some of the forms here represented.

- (1.) The serpent-headed deity is probably the Phœnician Ophion or , the history of whose defeat by the god El resembles that of the defeat of Kirkir Tiamat, the dark serpent, by Merodach.
- (2.) The bird-headed deity may be the same as the raven-headed creatures which figure on the walls of Assyrian palaces, and these "men with the heads of ravens" mentioned in the Cutha legend of the creation. They were called NAT-TIQ by the Akkadians, but to which of the great gods they belonged is doubtful. The figures may be of Egyptian origin, and represent Phœnician forms of Ra or Khonsu. (*See Birch's "Catalogue Egypt. Antiq."*)
- (3.) The boar-headed figure. This must be the Winter god of Phœnicia, who with the bear's tusk of winter slew the youthful Tammuz. The boar does not appear in either Assyrian, Akkadian, or Egyptian mythology.
- (4.) The "ram-headed;" this is in all probability the Egyptian Chnonmi, who had passed into the Phœnician pantheon.
- (5.) The dog-headed is possibly the genus of the inferno, one of the four dogs of Merodach, or perhaps a form of death as the devourer, like the Vedic-Yama. (*See M. Müller "Rig. Ved."*)
- (6.) The lion-headed is the Akkadian and Assyrian NERGAL, the

* Vol. vi, on the word "Ka."


god to whom the lion-headed figures and winged lions were dedicated. He was like Horus the midnight sun, which illuminated the "land of death."

It would seem to me, as far as I am able to judge, that we have here the gods of inferno, the gods who rule the "land of death and darkness, and oppose the passage of the soul of the good man;" and it may serve to illustrate the emblems of these seven gods, to quote the following from a hymn addressed to the Seven Evil Spirits. (W.A.I., IV, pl. 6.) "The passage unfortunately broken may be of use. In the recurring days* were the wicked gods, rebellious spirits, who in the lower part of heaven had been created; they wrought their evil work, devising with wicked heads at sunset;† as a sea beast to the river they turned. Among the seven of them, the first was a scorpion‡ . . . the second a thunderbolt, the third a leopard,§ the fourth a serpent, the fifth a watch dog,|| the sixth the raging tempest,¶ which to god or king submits not; the seventh the messenger of the fatal wind."

I have endeavoured in these notes on the animal-headed gods only to suggest points which may be of use to other students, and I anxiously await the results of the examination of this valuable tablet by that master of Phœnician art and archaeology, M. Ganneau, who will no doubt be able to solve many points which are now obscure.


The upper tier is occupied by the symbolic emblems of the gods.


In the consideration of this portion of the tablet, I would venture to suggest that these are the emblems of the *good gods*, the protectors of the good man deceased against the hostile gods figured on the tablet. The emblems are nearly all of them common to Assyrian and Babylonian religious tablets, but some of them appear to be of special interest in the religions of Syria and Phœnicia, and so I will add a few remarks on them, referring students to tablets and sculptures in which similar examples are to be found—

(1.) The Seven Stars, the Pleiades, the god invoked in the Babylonian inscription of Sennacherib as the "god Seven," →| . On the

* The seven *Mustakridhat* of Syria, from February 25th to March 3rd, when evil spirits were supposed to have special power. (Sayce-Smith, "Chald. Gen.," p. 99.)

† The period when the evil spirits and demons begin their work, after the sun, their great opponent, has gone to rest. Compare the Hebrew idea of the "pestilence that walketh in darkness."




‡ "The piercer of the rain-cloud," most probably the lightning, *birku*, the  "Smasher."

§ *Nimru*, a leopard or panther, the Arab  *n'imr*. This may be one of the carnivorous-headed figures of the tablet.

|| This must be the equivalent of the Indian Vama and his dog, and perhaps the deity from whom the Dog River derives its name.

¶ The winter-cloud, the bear-headed figure of the tablet, whose rude onset slew Tammuz the Summer Sun.

statue of Esarhaddon, at the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb, these appear, and I do not know of any other royal statue on which they appear, though they are frequently found on the gems. I should be inclined to connect them with the Cabiri.

- (2.) The crescent moon is certainly the emblem of Istar or Astarte. She was, as I have shown, the goddess of the moon from the commencement of the last quarter to the end of the first. The Hittite moon goddess has a helmet surmounted with a crescent.
- (3.) The winged circle, the Persian Fervhar, is the emblem of the golden rayed sun-god. (*See "Athenæum,"* September 6th, 1881.)
- (4.) The rayed disk the moon.—The solar disk when not represented as the winged circle of Fervhar, is distinguished from the lunar by having eight star-like limbs, and eight wave-like rays, so seen on the tablet discovered by Mr. Rassam at Aboo Hubba or Sippara of the Sun, the Chaldean Heliopolis, and on the boundary stone of Merodach-Baladan I (B.C. 1300), and Merodach-Nadin-akhi (B.C. 1100).
- (5.) The two next emblems   are difficult to explain, but they appear to be the Asherah or wooden posts, the אֲשֵׁרָה or אֲשֵׁרִים, the posts which, like the fir tree of Cybele, took so important a part in the worship of the Asiatic mother goddess.
- (6.) The Trissul is here clearly the thunderbolt of Rimmon, the Jupiter Tonans of Syria and Assyria. This is of frequent occurrence on seals and gems, and on the statue of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary stones mentioned above.
- (7.) The peculiar club or staff  is the emblem of Merodach in Assyrian, and probably of the Phœnician Melkarth. It is the weapon described in the tablet of the War of the Gods. It is the same as Khreb כְּרֵב borne by Perseus against the Dragon which tradition says he slew at Joppa, and of which a tradition may linger in the story of St. George, located in St. George's Bay at Beyrout.*
- (8.) The horned cap was the emblem of Baal or Bel, and was always worn by him. The examples of it are numerous, on the Bavian rocks, on the statues of Assurnazirpal, Samsi-Rimmon, in the British Museum, and that of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary-stones mentioned above.

The curious group of figures arranged in the lower compartment are very difficult to explain without a careful examination of the original tablet, and I think that the suggestion of Lieutenant Conder of their being offerings to the shade "and the gods of death" is a very possible solution. At the same time I would suggest the comparison with Hittite inscriptions, whereof the signs, as far as I can distinguish of them, several occur. On

* On a boundary stone of the 14th century B.C., discovered by Mr. Rassam at Babylon, this staff has a dog's head.

the monuments at Jerablus we have the vase, the altar, jar, or basket, boots, horse's foot and quiver, the remaining character appears to be a harp, which does not occur.

In my account of the seals in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo, which appeared in the "Athenæum" of March, 1880, I pointed out how in one seal the Phœnician artist had turned a cuneiform character, meaning name or signature, into a *tree*, and worked it into the field of his tent. It is possible that we may have here a conventionalised representation which once was an inscription.

I must now conclude these notes, but if by them I have raised an interest in this valuable tablet, I shall be amply rewarded, and I hope that a careful photograph or a cast may be accessible to students, and that thus points now obscure may be cleared up. There are many matters I feel that students of Phœnician and Egyptian mythology can throw more light than I have been able to gather from the records of Assyria, on this—
Story of Death.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

KADESH ON ORONTES.

THE report of Lieutenant Conder, R.E., on Kadesh, in the July *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 163 *et seq.*), is full of very interesting and valuable matter, for which all students of Hittite and Egyptian affairs owe him hearty thanks. But I cannot agree with him in identifying Tell Neby Mendeh (or Mindau, Mindoh, *Burton*; Mindow, *Porter*) as the site of the Hittite Kadesh, however the name may be found there. As Lieutenant Conder has mentioned, I took pains to collate all attainable Egyptian information for him before he left England, and I have since studied the matter again, and have given some results in a paper read November 1st, to the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Now I will try to put the question clearly in the light of the Egyptian records, which are remarkably concordant, both in narrative and picture.

The celebrated battle-scene described by the court poet Pentaur is given twice on the walls of the Ramesseum. On the *second* pylon (Rosellini, M.R. cix, cx, Lepsius, "Denkm.," vol. iii, 164) the Orontes flows from the left into a lake which curves upwards, and at the top turns to the right, where the doubly-moated Kadesh stands on an island, with a bridge above and below, the *lower being south*, for the force of the Kheta, shewn there, crossed the *southern* moat to attack the brigade of Ra, as the narrative tells us. Below the river is a straight embanked canal, running right across the picture. The *first* pylon ("Denkm.," vol. iii, 157-160) agrees in these particulars, and we have to the left the important addition of the point where the canal flows out of the river on its *east side*, running north-east. In both Kadesh must be at the north-east end of the lake, which is at least five times as long as the island where the fortified Kadesh stands. In the enormous battle-piece of Abusimbel the Orontes flows similarly into the

lake (which, however, lies straighter in the line of the river-course); the island is at the lower end of the lake on its north-east side, and the river runs on, taking a decided curve, and then straightening its course once more. Here, likewise, are the Kheta troops across the *south* moat. But the parallel canal is only to be *inferred* from the movements of the Kheta and Egyptian troops, as I have shown in my paper.

Now all the precise statements of the records agree with the evidence afforded by the course of the canal in showing the position of the Egyptian tableau relatively to the points of the compass, and the inference is that the island-fortress stands at the north-east end of the lake, forming apparently (as I suggested to Lieutenant Conder) "a part of the great engineering works at the northern and lower end of the long lake, which included the great dyke, heading up the waters of the Orontes, by which the lake was artificially formed."

I cannot but identify this considerable lake, flowing north-easterly, with the present lake of Homs.

Lieutenant Conder would have it represent a mill-pool 50 yards across, to the south-east of the Tell, 400 yards long, but I think this quite a "disproportioned thought."

Nor will Tell Neby Mendeh suit in anywise the strategic conditions of the story. "The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides." We agree as to the route of the Pharaoh along the valley of the Eleutherus (Nahr el Kebir). "The Pharaoh crossed a ridge (400 or 500 feet above the lake) and descended into the plains north-west of (Lieutenant Conder's) Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake," and consequently in *full view* of the great *ambuscade* of thousands of the allies posted (as we are told) to the north-west of Kadesh. This is precisely contrary to the Egyptian account, which makes the Pharaoh advance from the south, and fall heedless into the trap. On the other hand, if the great ambuscade were laid in the lower land to the north-west of the great dyke, where the chimney-tops of Saddeh are below the level of the lake (so much does the ground fall off), the Pharaoh might well have been lured by the spies into the most perilous security, while the Kheta king's chariots sped away on the other side of the lake, crossed the ford to the south-west of its higher end, and cut the Pharaoh from his supports, for their camp (we are told) was "on the heights to the *south* of Kadesh." Then the brigade of Ra, forming the south-eastward column, would be crushed on *that* side of the lake by the flank attack of the forces thrown across the southern moat of Kadesh; while Rameses with his body-guard was at bay, completely surrounded by the line of the Hittite chariots, on the opposite or north-west side of the lake. These are the details so well represented by the relief-pictures of the Egyptian walls.

I cannot but think them quite in accordance with the supposition which places Kadesh at the north-east outfall of the lake over its great dyke, and not reconcilable with the theory of Lieutenant Conder that Tell Neby Mendeh is the Hittite Kadesh. It seems to me that if any Tell now standing should be Kadesh, Tell Koteinch (Katani of Arrowsmith, Kattiniezh of Rey), by

the south-east end of the great dyke is far more likely. Here, or from the dyke hard by, Lieutenant Conder tells us "the flat basaltic slopes on the right *concealed the path by which Rameses approached.*" Here, perhaps, the moated stronghold might have stood, and the moats may long since have been filled and dried. Here and in the lower levels "behind Kadesh the wicked," the deadly ambush may have been laid. All this would perfectly accord with the narratives and tableaux alike, and I venture to urge a very careful attention to this spot and to the dyke itself, for I think with Professor Porter that "the Hittites seem to have been the original founders of that great embankment."

One word more. I thought at first, in view of the Egyptian records, that Kadesh must have stood on the *western* side of the Orontes. But I now see that the expression "Pharaoh had placed himself to the north of the town of Kadesh, on the west side of the river Arunatha," must apply to the Pharaoh, not to the town, which is clearly shown to be on the east side of the river or its lake. The *name* "Kadesh" seems to have wandered like "Koteineh," shown in Lieutenant Conder's sketch-map some three miles from the *Tell Koteineh*.

If we can by combined effort of explorers and students clear up this matter, and put the pick-axe into the true spot, I am quite sure that no one will rejoice more heartily than that excellent and now celebrated officer of the splendid corps of Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Conder.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE,

November 7th, 1881.

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

P.S.—I think it important to notice two points in the remarks of the Rev. W. Wright on my paper read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

I. Mr. Wright "had no doubt that in the poem of Pentaur two lakes were referred to—the little lake of Kadesh, around which the battle was fought, and 'the lake of the land of the Amorites,' namely, the Bahr el Hums, in the vicinity of which a part of the Egyptian army must have been when the battle began."

But it is really doubtful whether any *lake* is mentioned in the *text*; and in the battle-pieces there is manifestly only *one*, at the north-east end of which stands Kadesh.

II. Mr. Wright remarks: "It was easy to overcome distance on a map, but supposing the crossing place at each end of the lake to have been eight or ten miles apart, the Khita chariots must have gone careering round a circuit of forty or fifty miles or more during the battle."

This is a misapprehension. The tableaux show two *simultaneous* movements of Hittite chariotry in opposite directions to meet and form a circuit. The lake of Homs is 6 miles long, says Lieutenant Conder, and 2 miles broad.

Now the more extensive of these movements need not have covered more ground than 12 miles round the south-west end, and the other

movement 5 or 6 miles round the north-east end of the lake. An hour and a half would accomplish both together, the *aggregate* being 17 or 18 miles instead of "40 or 50 or more."

Moreover, these movements were *before*, and not "during the battle," and they were deliberately planned beforehand, with plenty of time for their accomplishment at leisure.

I believe that if Mr. Wright had studied the evidence of the monuments and maps his impressions would have been very different. My object is to have these brought fairly to bear upon a survey of the ground, especially taking account of the levels for 5 or 6 miles round the lake of Homs.

H. G. T.

THE ROCK RIMMON.

It seems from the last *Quarterly Statement* that Lieutenant Conder recently went down in the harvest time to the Rock Rimmon, into the cave of the six hundred, and stumbled over some startling conclusions.

I do not wish, like the Philistines, to rob his threshing-floor in Lehi (Hebr. *belehi*), but I should like in the strength of a Samson to beat out his gleanings with the *inquisitorial* rod, and to winnow the wheat with the *critical* fan, so that the chaff may be driven away by the wind of *sound* opinion. I will not discuss the meaning of Rimmon, as I can afford to leave it untranslated in Judges xx; 1 Sam. xiv, 2 (where A. V. has "pomegranate") but will pass on to the following points given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 247, as the results of careful examination.

- (a.) The Rock Rimmon was at the present village of Rummôn.
- (b.) The site of the latter "could not be more correctly described than by the term *Sel'a*."
- (c.) "The Hebrew word (*sela*) has not the meaning of precipice."
- (d.) The surviving Benjamites did not take refuge among the precipices of Wady Suweinât, east of Jeb'a, and so could not have hidden themselves in the cave called Mughâret el Jai.
- (e.) The cave "will not hold the number of fugitives mentioned in the story."
- (f.) "The name Rimmon no longer occurs in the vicinity."

The question of the true position of the Rock Rimmon has frequently been touched upon in these pages, viz. : 1879, pp. 103, 112-129, 170; 1880, pp. 106, 173, 236.

To sift the matter thoroughly, I will take the ears gleaned by Lieutenant Conder, one by one.

Sela.—This is a word against which several wrong identifications are dashed to pieces. I have stated (1879, p. 127) that "*sela* always means a precipitous rock, *i.e.*, a cliff . . . height alone does not entitle to the

name." On the other hand Lieutenant Conder urges and claims to show that *the word has not the meaning of precipice*.

He can hardly be unaware that such authorities as Dr. Stanley and Grove have rendered *sela* by cliff (another translates it crag), so that to remove this great obstruction, I must have recourse to a petard.

I take the following from a picturesque writer :—

"There is a great gorge called the 'Valley of Rocks,' a narrow but deep chasm, *impassable* except by a detour of many miles, so that Saul might have stood within sight of David, yet quite unable to overtake his enemy ; and to this '*Cliff (sela) of Division*' ; there is no other place near Maon where *cliffs*, such as are to be inferred from the word *Sela*, can be found." Again he writes : "The heat and glare were oppressive, and I was glad *at noon* to rest under a white, chalk *cliff*, and was able to realize the force of the poetic language of Isaiah, 'The shadow of a great rock (*sela*) in a weary land'" (Is. xxxii, 2). Again, referring to the Rock (*sela*) Etam, he gives "eagle's nest" as the meaning of Etam. See "Tent Work," 1880, pp. 142, 245, 246. Yet even this testimony seems hardly sufficient to move Lieutenant Conder, who says my quotations are "scarcely sufficient to prove that *sela* should be rendered precipice."

I must, therefore, next call a *myriad* of witnesses from the land of Edom. "And other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock (*sela*), and cast them down from the top of the rock (*sela*) that they were all broken in pieces" (11 Chron. xxv, 12). It is pleasant to observe that the LXX here translate *sela* by *κρημνός* (a precipice), and not by the indefinite word *πέτρα*. Five figures must be allowed to be sufficient to prove one point, so I conclude that *sela* does mean *a precipice*, here and also throughout the Bible, as I cannot find a single instance where such a meaning is out of place.

Lieutenant Conder urges, however, that in some passages *sela* can scarcely be understood as meaning a precipice, quoting two, viz., Ps. xviii, 2, "The Lord is my rock ;" but as the next words are "and my fortress," it is clear that a rock with (rather than without) precipitous sides best suit the Psalmist's meaning. He also quotes Ps. xl, 2, "Set my feet *upon* a rock"—adding, "a position hardly to be considered as one of safety and comfort." It is almost unnecessary to reply that here "upon a rock" means *on the top*, not on the side of a precipice, just as the watchman in Jezreel (2 Kings ix, 17) stood *on* (the same Hebrew word as in Ps. xl, 2) the tower, *not on its side*, in perfect "safety and comfort."

By thus conclusively demonstrating that *sela* means *a precipice*, we have at once disposed of the points *a, b, c*. The Rock (*sela*) Rummôn, as we have seen, was undoubtedly a *precipitous* rock, and therefore is not to be placed at Rimmôn, which Lieutenant Conder assures us "could not be more correctly described than by a word which, he urges, has *not* the meaning of precipice."

It is superfluous to prove to him the correctness of this, his own statement, by pointing out that houses at Rummôn are built upon the sides of

the knoll, that on the Survey map tracks are marked as approaching it from the four sides, &c. Therefore it could not be a *sela*.

The rival site has thus so completely vanished, that I need not bring into action my reserve passages, viz. : Job. xxxix, 28 ; Prov. xxx, 26 ; Cant. ii, 14 ; Is. xxii, 16 ; xxxii, 2 ; Jer. v. 3 ; xxiii, 29 ; xlviii, 28 ; Amos vi, 12. Still the remaining points *d*, *e*, *f*, have to be considered.

I have already shown, 1880, p. 236, that from the battle-field near Gibeah the Benjamites fled eastwards towards the wilderness. The exact position of Gibeah is still unsettled, but it was not far from the great north road (*id.*, p. 237), and is, in my opinion, probably identical with Gibeah of Saul, and to be identified with Gibeath Ammah, *i.e.*, the hill of the metropolis (2 Sam. ii, 24), and this I place at Khurbet 'Adaseh, about two miles to the east of Gibeon. Be this as it may, the Benjamites fled from the battle-field somewhere south of the latitude of er Ram (Judges xx, 31), in an easterly direction towards Gibeah, *i.e.*, Jeb'a (Judges xx, 43), towards the wilderness, and this course would take them directly to the precipices of Wâdy Suweinîf.

Here, on the southern side of the wâdy, we find Saul (1 Sam. xiv, 2) in the uttermost part of Gibeah, *i.e.*, Jeb'a, under *the Rimmon* (A. V. a pomegranate tree) which is in Migron (*i.e.*, the precipice) ; here, too, was "a sharp rock" (A. V., literally, tooth of a *sela*), facing over against Michmash. No better hiding place could be desired than some hidden cavern among the precipices of this wild mountain gorge ; and as the Hebrews hid themselves (1 Sam. xiv, 11) *in holes* from the Philistines, I cannot see that Biblical authority is needed for their having concealed themselves *in a cave* from enemies bent on waging a war of extermination after two disgraceful defeats.

Why in the world the 600 Benjamites should be made to parade themselves on Rummôn, like flies on a sugar loaf, instead of being hidden away in a safe place, I have never been able to understand ; and if to the English mind it still seems unsuitable for those who run to run to the nearest and best place of refuge, instead of crossing seven miles of "most difficult country," then, mindful of Cetewayo's fickle fortune, I appeal from Japheth to Ham to decide what Shem would do when outnumbered fourteen to one.

Meanwhile I claim to have disposed of objection *d*, if only the cave is large enough, and this brings me to *e*, which I shall treat as *chaff*, as it seems to be so intended.

The tradition clinging to Mughâret el Jai that "sixteen flocks of one hundred sheep have been folded at one time in its main chamber" is valuable on account of the *six* and the *one hundred* ; the *truth* of the statement is of no importance. Still it occurs to me that it is hardly fair to use the Negeb or *south-down* measurement for sheep in the highlands of Benjamin, for such seems to be forced upon us, "if more than three sheep could scarcely be packed into two square yards."

Again, in making a space of six feet by three feet a *sine quâ non* for men hiding for their lives, Lieutenant Conder appears to me to assume

that the survivors were respectable aldermen of the Eglon girth, and not young desperadoes of the Ehud cut.

Such palatial accommodation would not be needed for men scarcely more civilized than the modern Fellaheen. The total area of the cave is said not to exceed 970 square yards, while the main chamber is about 500 yards square.

Now the Education Department in Kirjath-Sepher fixes the space to be allowed for each street Arab at 8 square feet, while Lieutenant Conder will not allow a Benjamite, after all his valour, to escape for his life into a cave of which the large room allows eight feet per man, or 14 feet including the class-rooms. Better it seems for the six hundred to be slain by Israel, than to have to cross their legs, or for only part of the number to lie down at once.

It is fair, however, to point out that Lieutenant Conder is more dexterous than I am in packing, when he has in view the sinister object of fixing the battle of Gibeah at Jeb'a. He says (1877, 105; 1881, 89) that at the latter place, there was a *cave* large enough to contain the ambush (Judges xx, 33). How large then was the cave, and how large the ambush? Josephus says half the army, *i.e.*, about 160,000 men. *That* cave must have been close and hot indeed. Happily Josephus sometimes writes fiction, and the ambush clearly did not lie in wait in a cave but *round about* (Judges xx, 29) Gibeah.

Further, Lieutenant Conder finds it "difficult to understand why the advocates of a Rock Rimmon in Wady Suweinît should have pitched on this particular cave (Mughâret el Jai), seeing that there are many other caves along both sides of the valley," curiously adding, "though unfortunately they are for the most part inaccessible."

Surely the wish has never crossed his mind that we had pitched upon an *inaccessible* cave. The reasons, however, for fixing on Mughâret el Jai as the place of refuge for the Benjamites, are as follows:—

1. It is obviously the cavern mentioned to Mr. Finn, in 1852, as capable of containing several hundred men.
2. It is *accessible*, and from it it is easy to reach the concealed spring of Ain Suweinît.
3. It is the best known (1879, 112) and apparently the largest cave in the ravine.
4. It is well screened from view, and therefore a desirable hiding place.

It has been used time out of mind for refuge by the neighbouring villagers, when prosecuted by the government; and the hiding place habitually used in modern times may well have been that resorted to in the days of Phinehas and even of Saul.

6. There must be some reason for the repeated mention of *six* in connection with *hundreds* in reference to Mughâret el Jai, and its occupation by the six hundred Benjamite survivors would be a likely and reasonable explanation.

It is not, however, necessary for all the fugitives ever to have been in

the cave at one time, still less for four months. After sunset they could doubtless come out like rabbits to get corn and water. The plain truth seems to be that the cave formed the *headquarters* of the Benjamite survivors, so that this stalk proves to be *altogether chaff*.

Mr. Rawnsley (1879, 126), among the names recovered in his expedition, gives the following, *Wâdy er Rummanen*, and *Wâdy er Rumman*, both obviously connected with Rimmon. Whether he was imposed upon in these names being given him, or Lieutenant Conder in their not being given, is a point on which no evidence is before us.

The present existence of the name Rimmon is, however, of no real importance, as there certainly was a Rimmon somewhere hereabouts in the time of Saul.

I think all objections recently and formerly made against this most interesting *cliff* and *cave* have now been fairly met and demolished, as I doubt not every future one will also be, for "*magna est veritas et prævalebit.*"

The sound results may be stated thus :—

The Rock Rimmon was *not* at Rimmôn because—

1. It is not a *sela*.
2. It is not a suitable place of refuge for men fighting for their lives.
3. It is probably not in the tribe of Benjamin.
4. It was seven miles distant from the field of battle, and another hiding place which was far nearer, was also far better.

That the refuge of the six hundred Benjamites was the great cavern called Mughâret el Jai, among the cliffs of the passage of Michmash, seems to me to be conclusively proved by the following chain of circumstantial evidence :—

1. The Benjamites were pursued "unto over against Gibeah toward the sun rising." This certainly brings them *towards* Jeb'a.

2. "They fled toward the wilderness unto the rock (*sela*) Rimmon." This must first have brought them *past* Jeba, and a mile and a half or two miles more in the same direction—"toward the wilderness," would bring them to Wâdy Suweinit, where we find both *cliffs* and the name "*Rimmon* in the precipice" existing in the time of Saul. As these are the *first cliffs* they would come to, and the name Rimmon was once connected with them, it seems to me as clearly proved as any topographical point can be, that here was the Rock Rimmon.

3. Further, here is a great cavern—offering a most suitable hiding place, with a secret spring not far distant.

4. The Israelites often hid themselves in caves. This one has long been the recognised hiding place of the neighbourhood, and the Christians are said to have used it on one great occasion.

The Benjamites, unless different from other human beings, must be allowed to have hidden themselves in some cave or other, and it is most reasonable to suppose that they would do so in this.

6. Tradition says that this cave will hold six hundred men, just the

number of the Benjamite refugees, and that they did hide in it is the only reasonable explanation as to how six hundred is the number now named.

7. Modern measurement confirms the tradition that six hundred men could find shelter in this cave if pushed to extremities.

The Israelites, however, had probably gained too bitter an experience of the desperate valour of the slinging tribe, to dare to attack the wolf of Benjamin, when driven to bay in his *dernier ressort*. And most assuredly they would have caught a Tartar (as will probably every one who ventures to assail their famous stronghold*) if they had attempted to harass the fugitives in Wâdy Suweinit, and so they discreetly let alone that little Benjamin who was destined afterwards to be their ruler. But still, why not make some excavations in the cave?

W. F. BIRCH.

THE VALLEY OF HINNOM AND ZION.

MORE than 200 books have been written on Palestine, about 50 treat specially of its geography; thousands of intelligent travellers have visited the Holy City, and yet to this hour the Christian world is not agreed as to where Zion stood.

Four faults have led most writers astray:—

- (1.) They have made wrong assumptions, in a matter in which hardly anything can safely be assumed.
- (2.) They have grounded their arguments on statements of Josephus, who is most unreliable, and at times flatly contradicts the Bible.
- (3.) They have not always verified their references.
- (4.) They have interpreted their quotations in a way sometimes at variance with the context.

Hence there are *four* opinions as to what hill is described as *Mount Zion*, and *five different views* about the real position of Zion itself, viz. :—

- (1.) The *high*; north of the Temple; advocated by Messrs. Fergusson, Thrupp, and Lewin.
- (2.) The *low*; south of the Temple, on Ophel so called, held by the writer.
- (3.) The *broad*, which places Zion simultaneously on two or more of the following 1, 2, 4, 5, originated by Josephus and adopted by Lewin and Lieutenant Conder.
- (4.) The *mediæval*; the south-western hill or upper city of Josephus, approved of by almost all writers from Jerome to the present

* The same may also be said of the stronghold of Zion, or the City of David which was situated on Ophel, so called, south of the Temple.

date, and defended by the discrimination of Robinson, the erudition of Williams, as well as by Professor Porter and Lieutenant Conder.

- (5.) That of the *Woolwich Brethren*, the district within the second wall west of the Temple and north of the upper city, gallantly held by Colonel Warren and Lieutenant Conder.

To a mind that delights in "showing of hard sentences and dissolving of doubts," the Jerusalem problem is irresistibly fascinating, and as four years have failed to show me any flaw or fallacy in the view which alone (so far as I can see) is reconcilable with and demanded by the Bible, I cheerfully descend from Scopus to join in the *bellum topographicum*, against the modern Simons, Johns, and Eleazars who between them have rent Jerusalem in pieces.

The "Nikon" argument that must make the first breach in the great wall of error, shall be "the true position of the Valley of Hinnom," the accidental discovery of which put an end to my gropings in the dark, led me out of the Josephean fog into bright daylight, and showed me the great outlines of Jerusalem in wonderful distinctness.

Modern discoveries allow us (without falling into *fault 1*) to assert that ancient Jerusalem stood somewhere on the often printed plan (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1879). The great question then is which was the valley of Hinnom?

A. Jerome says that Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was irrigated by the waters of Siloam (Ain Silwân).

B. Colonel Warren identifies the brook (*Nachal*) Kedron, on the eastern side of Jerusalem, with the valley (*Ge*) of Hinnom.

C. Popular opinion takes the valley on the south-west and south of Jerusalem to be the valley of Hinnom.

While I was vainly seeking to reconcile these divergent if not opposite views, the thought occurred to me, "might not the Tyropæon, the valley passing through Jerusalem, be the Valley of Hinnom?" The novelty of the idea was charming. Immediately I set about trying how this identification would suit the various passages of the Bible in which the valley of Hinnom is mentioned.

Everything fitted in beautifully, but when I came to Jer. xxxi, 39, 40, which describes the environs of Jerusalem, I was struck with the fact not only that the valley of (*Ge*) Hinnom was not specifically mentioned, but also that "the whole *valley* of the dead bodies and of the ashes," generally taken to be south-west and south of the valley above named, was not described by the Hebrew word *Ge* but by quite a different word, *Emek*. Soon I perceived that the distinct Hebrew words, *Nachal*, *Ge*, and *Emek* were *never* interchanged, and delighted with this success I followed up the clue until it led me right into Zion.

But before passing on, the three views A, B, C, need a word. A is not disturbed by the Tyropæon being the valley of Hinnom, perhaps it even requires this line.

B cannot stand for a moment against the rigid use of Hebrew words.

It only rests on Arabic accounts* ("Jerus. Rec.," p. 307) and the misleading "*East gate*" (Jer. xix, 2), and to speak from hearsay, possibly on the Talmud.

C. The Bible Dictionary (under "Tophet") observes, "Until comparatively modern times that southern valley is never so named. Hinnom, by old writers, Western and Eastern, is always placed *east* of the city, and corresponds to what we call 'the mouth of the Tyropæon,' along the southern bed and bank of the Kedron." I have not, however, verified the references given for this statement.

Lieutenant Conder ("Handbook," p. 330) adopts C, and puts forward two points as *conclusive arguments* in its favour. (1) "Not only does the line of the border of Judah, which followed this valley, and ran south of Jerusalem (Josh. xv, 8), presuppose such a position; but (2) the situation of Tophet in the valley of Hinnom points to the same conclusion. Tophet was the scene of the worship of Moloch, and the high place of that idol is mentioned (2 Kings, xxiii, 13) as on the south of the Har-ham-Mashekhith, which is probably the same as Har-ham-Meshekhah, or Mount of Anointing, by which name the Rabbis denominate the Mount of Olives."

This is a good illustration of how a well-read writer may unconsciously go astray.

Point (1) would be conclusive *if* it could be proved that "the Jebusite" or "stronghold of Zion" was situate on the hill of the Upper City. But here Lieutenant Conder falls into *fault 2*, as all the proof he has to allege (p. 336) is the *incorrect* statement of Josephus that "the upper hill was by David called the citadel." If this professes to be a paraphrase of the Bible it is a *misrepresentation*; if not, whence did Josephus get his knowledge of things that happened a thousand years before his time? (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 169.)

Point (2) is an instance of *fault 4*. The context (2 Kings, xxiii, 10, 13) shows that Tophet in *the valley of Hinnom* had nothing to do with "the high places that were before Jerusalem which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption, etc.," for verse 10 states that Josiah defiled Tophet, and verse 13 that he defiled those high places. The chapter gives an orderly account of Josiah's doings, and verse 13 is not an idle repetition of verse 10, but perfectly distinct from it.

The "Handbook," p. 336, has a remark about "*the valley (emek) of Dead Bodies* and of the ashes," viz., "no indication of the position of this place is given, and it has no topographical importance." (*Vide* note on Jerem. xxxi, 38-40.)

There was formerly *not much difficulty* about its position, as it was taken to be the west and south valley, *until* it was pointed out that an *emek* could not be a *ge*, and its topographical importance instead of being *nil*, seems

* In *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 102, Mr. Beswick discusses Colonel Warren's view, and rejects it. I cannot altogether agree with his arguments, and should have been glad if he had endeavoured to show that the Tyropæon so called (1878, p. 180) was not the valley of Hinnom. He seems, however, to pass over the point without notice.

to me *greater* than that of any other topographical passage in the Bible, because it proves that the west and south valley was not the valley of Hinnom. Yet Mr. Fergusson's most praiseworthy identification of the *eastern hill* at Jerusalem with *Mount Zion* was years ago, is briefly disposed of by the reply that it did "not deserve the trouble of a serious refutation." Not thus will difficult questions be solved, though books may be multiplied to any extent.

The position that the central valley was the valley of Hinnom now seems to me to be fully proved and impregnable (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 180); but if any one thinks he can upset "Nikon" let him try.

As I believe that Colonel Warren, in the "Memoirs," and Lieutenant Conder in the "Encyclopædia," will shortly fully put forward their latest views on the topography of Jerusalem, I propose to defer the assault on the pseudo-Zions until the next number.

W. F. B.

NOTE ON JEREMIAH XXXI, 38-40.

This passage is the *key* to Jerusalem. It will hardly be disputed that the words "from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner," describe generally the breadth of the city from east to west, on its northern or weakest side.

Verses 39 and 40 seem to describe a circuit about the city going round from north to west, then to south and ending at the east. I think it safe to identify the hill (*gibeah*) of Gareb, outside the Jerusalem of the Kings, with the hill east of the Damascus gate; *Goath* seems to me to have been a place more to the west, and identical with the site of the *Assyrian camp* of Josephus; the name probably has reference to the destruction of the 185,000 men.

In verse 40 we come to the west and south valley (that wrongly called in our day the valley of Hinnom), and this is described as "the whole valley (*emek*) of the dead bodies and of the ashes." This brings us to "all the fields," i.e., the level ground in the eastern valley (described as "all the fields"), which reach to near the Virgin's Spring, where the valley becomes narrow, or in other words "unto the brook (*nachal*) of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate towards the east," i.e., to near some part of the Haram area.

The fact that we have the *fields*, the *brook*, the *horse gate* in proper order, seems to make it certain that the description is an orderly one throughout; while the west and south valley is the only one which can fill up the space (between "Goath" and "the fields") described as "the valley (*emek*)," etc. All the places thus named seemed to have been *defiled*: Gareb has been connected with *leprosy*; Goath with death; while the *dead bodies* would defile the *emek*. Even the fields and brook Kidron were defiled (2 Kings xxiii, 4, 6). The high places on the Mount of Olives had also been defiled (2 Kings xxiii, 13), but as no mention is here made of this part becoming holy, though in close proximity to Jerusalem, it is

inadmissible to apply the expression "the valley (*emek*) of the dead bodies," etc., to any part of the country beyond the west and south valley, and not adjoining Jerusalem.

Thus this valley being the only valley available must be that intended by the prophet, and as it is called (*emek*) it could not possibly be the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom.

The use therefore made above of this passage is fully justified.

W. F. BIRCH.

VARIETIES.

It may be well to correct a few errors and misapprehensions.

Emmaus.—The anonymous paper on this place is incorrectly credited to me by Lieutenant Conder.

The Siloam Inscription.—In *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, page 141, the Pool of the Virgin (*Birket Sitti Maryam*) near St. Stephen's Gate is confused with the Virgin's Well, half a mile to the south. It is from the latter that the canal is cut to the Pool of Siloam.

The Table land Rock.—On page 327, this is given by the Rev. James Niel as one of the titles of Jerusalem. The allusion is obviously to Jer. xxi, 13, 14, "Behold I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley, and rock of the plain, saith the Lord; which say, Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitations?"

There could hardly be a more beautiful illustration of the use of topographical research than this passage affords. Here the Hebrew word for valley is *emek*, and that for plain *mishor*; but the inhabitants of Jerusalem did not dwell in an *emek*; and the *mishor* is an expression only used of the upland downs east of the Jordan, so that this verse cannot be applied to Jerusalem, unless the utmost violence be done to Biblical usage.

The *topographical key*, however, turns this dead-lock with perfect ease. The inhabitants of Rabbath-Ammon boasted (Jer. xlix, 4) of their well watered valley (*emek*), while their citadel overlooked the surrounding country or *mishor*. Our *key* fits exactly, and makes it certain that the prophet refers to Rabbah. Besides, "Who shall come down to us?" is the very question asked in Jer. xlix, 4, "Who shall come unto me?" and the king of Babylon was advancing against both Rabbah and Jerusalem (Ezek. xxi, 20, 21), though he took the latter first. See *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, page 189.

Gibeah.—It seems to me that Kh. 'Adaseh, nearly two miles east of Gibeon, represents the long-lost site of *Gibeah* (Judg. xx), of *Gibeah of Saul*, and of the hill of Ammah, *lit.* the *Gibeah* or hill of the chief city. The arguments for this identification seem to me conclusive, but it will be

requisite to search for ancient tombs and a water supply close at hand, as such do not seem to be marked on the Survey Map.

Nob.—After placing Gibeah of Saul at Kh. 'Adaseh, I can no longer recognise Almon as representing Nob, which identification (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, page 51) I have long regarded with increasing suspicion, and now abandon, for the following reasons :—

(1.) I find Josephus to be utterly untrustworthy on Old Testament topography.

(2.) A Levitical city in Benjamin would probably be described as a city of the children of Aaron the priest or of the sons of Aaron, and not simply as a *city of the priests*.

(3.) While many places mentioned in the Bible had different names, *e.g.*, Jerusalem, Hebron, Debir, Bethel, etc., I cannot find a single clear instance in which some note of explanation is not added.

(4.) It is not certain that Ahimelech enquired of God for David (*see* "Speaker's Com."); so that there is no reason for thinking that David went out of his way to Nob, which he would have done if Nob had been at Almon (Almît).

(5.) If Is. x, 28, etc., describes (as I believe it does) the actual march of the Assyrian, then he ought to have advanced from Geba towards Jerusalem by the ordinary route near Tuleil el Fûl and not past Almît. For the same reason Aiath cannot apparently be identical with Ai, unless the latter be placed at Kh. Haiy. Lieutenant Conder, 1881, page 254, writes in favour of Ai having been at Kh. Haiyan, but unfortunately he does not offer any suggestion as to the position of the valley (*emek*) in Josh. viii, 13, nor as to the crossing and recrossing of the deep valley (*gai*) on the north; while "before the plain" (viii, 14) means, as Mr. Guest has pointed out, "in sight of the Jordan valley."

To find a position suiting both the advance of Sennacherib and the flight of David from near Kh. 'Adaseh, I am driven to look for traces of an old town in the neighbourhood of Shafat. The spot marked Kh. el Merâghib on the Survey Map seems to me the most likely, and near it Murray's "Handbook" (page 190) states there are some remarkable tombs, with the remains of a considerable town, called el-Musahny.

Zebaim.—The connection I endeavoured to establish (1879, page 102) between this name and Tell esh Sha'ib seems now to me to be but fanciful.

The Dung Gate.—Mr. Beswick (1880, 109) objects to this name being connected with "the place called Bethso" (Jos. "Wars," v. 4, 2), and suggests that the meaning of the latter word is the "Interdicted Place," and not the "dung place," as proposed by Dr. Robinson. A short visit, however, to the heaps of rubbish outside the Jaffa Gate would probably show that sanitary considerations are unsafe guides in questions of oriental topography. The further fact that the royal towers, etc., of Herod, at the north-west corner of Zion (so called), were separated from the dung gate of Nehemiah at the south-west corner by an interval of something like 1,000 cubits, and 400 years ought not, as a matter of scent, to make the identification absurd.

Kirjath-jearim.—There are some serious objections to the identification of this place with Khûrbet 'Erma.

1. According to Josh. xv, 10, "the border compassed from Baalah (*i.e.*, Kirjath-jearim) *westward* unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon." The line, however, as drawn by Lieutenant Conder (1881, page 264) runs northward instead of *westward* from 'Erma to Kesla. I can find no authority for his rendering the Hebrew יָרָא (with verbs of motion) as equal to "looking west instead of *westward*."

2. Again, in Josh. xviii, 15, from the end of Kirjath-jearim the border (of Benjamin) "went out *on the west* (*i.e.*, *westward*), and went out to the well of the waters of Neptoah." The line from 'Erma is, however, by Lieutenant Conder drawn *entirely* eastward (and *not westward at all*), towards 'Ain Atân near Solomon's pools. These seem to me to be two fatal objections to Kh. 'Erma representing Kirjath-jearim.

3. Josephus, whose testimony is worth little, says that Kirjath-jearim was near Gibeon, which is an equivoise to his statement that it was near Beth-shemesh. On the principle "*medio tutissimus ibis*," I should say that no site seems to me more suitable than Soba, about half way between the two, especially as the border can be drawn *westward* along Wâdy Esh Shemmarîn and then *eastward* up Wâdy es Sikkeh.

4. Kirjath-jearim, along with Chephirah and Beeroth, was a city dependent on Gibeon. Kh. 'Erma seems too far distant.

5. Lieutenant Conder does not seem to speak of any ancient Jewish tombs at 'Erma.

6. In Josh. xviii, 28, we read "Gibeath, *and* Kirjath; fourteen cities with their villages." A comparison of the Hebrew and LXX versions would rather lead one to suppose that the original reading was "Gibeath of (or which belongs to) Kirjath-jearim."

7. In this case Gibeath (or rather Gibeah) was a town of Benjamin at "the end of Kirjath-jearim," and is probably represented by Kh. el Jubeiah near Soba, while Kirjath was not a town of Benjamin at all, but only an imperfect reading for Kirjath-jearim.

8. If Zorah and Eshtaol are correctly identified with Sura'h and Eshû'a, it is difficult to see how the "Mahaneh Dan, in Judah behind Kirjath-jearim" (Judg. xviii, 12) can be identical with "the Mahaneh-Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol" (xiii, 25) as the Danites from these two towns went *up* and pitched in Kirjath-jearim, in Judah (xviii, 12).

Probably the name of the camp of Dan was given to two places: one the spot where they assembled and to which they carried out their stuff; the other at the end of their first day's journey, just west of Kirjath-jearim.

Rabbah (Josh. xv, 60) was apparently a city in the mountains of Judah, and cannot therefore be the present *Rabbat* in the Shephelah. Kh. Rab'a, about a mile from 'Erma, seems a likely position and similar in name.

W. F. BIRCH.

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

Queen's College, Oxford,

November 14th, 1881.

THE printer has, after all, contrived to make mistakes in my transliteration of the Siloam inscription into square Hebrew characters. I should therefore be obliged by the following corrections of lines 5 and 6 being made : in line 5, the reading should be **הַמִּצְאָה בֶּן** ; and in line 6 **הַצֵּר** instead of **בִּצֵּר**.

I am inclined to return to my old views as to the antiquity of the inscription. The historical evidence, at all events, seems very clear. Apart from the argument urged by M. Derenbourg, who points out that, as Shiloah signifies "a conduit," the tunnel with the inscription in it must have existed before the time when Isaiah viii, 6, was written, and have given its name to the locality, the fact that the reservoir is called simply "the pool" in the inscription is one that I cannot easily get over. If other similar reservoirs existed at the time in Jerusalem, as we know they did in the age of Isaiah, it is difficult to understand how it could be called merely "the pool" and not "the pool of Siloah" or "the king's pool" as in Neh. iii, 15, and ii, 14. At all events, as Dr. Neubauer first pointed out, the words in Is. viii, 6, have no sense, unless they refer to the passage of waters through the tunnel which supplied the pool of Siloam. It must be remembered that the Virgin's spring is the only natural one in or near Jerusalem, and that consequently the reservoir of Siloam must have been filled either with rain-water or by means of the cutting in the rock which led from the Virgin's Pool.

Now that we know the exact forms of the characters used in the inscription, there is only one—the *aleph*—which stands in the way of assigning it to a very early date. Two characters, the *waw* and the *zayin*, have more archaic forms than have been found elsewhere, and to these I should also be disposed to add the *tsadé*. The *kheth* and *'ayin* are more archaic than those of the Moabite Stone, though this would prove no more than that the alphabet of Moab had in certain respects departed further from the primitive type than the more conservative alphabet of Judah. As for the *mem*, de Vogüé's canon on the subject seems to me untenable. According to this, the "wavy *mem*" would be older than the barred *mem* which we find in our inscription. But it is obvious that the difference of form in this case depends on a difference of writing materials. The wavy *mem* would be in use where papyrus or parchment was mostly employed, while the barred *mem* would be the natural form where stone and clay were largely used for writing purposes, as we know they were at Jerusalem (Is. viii, 1 ; "slab," not "roll," as in A.V. ; Jer. xxxii, 11, 12). The Siloam letters can be compared only with those of the early Hebrew seals, not with those of the Aramaic dockets on the contract tablets of Nineveh or those of the inscriptions on the Assyrian lion-weights. The

latter are written in Aramaic not in Hebrew, and in an Aramaic alphabet, not a Jewish one. Nineveh, moreover, is geographically too far from Jerusalem to allow of a comparison being safely made, while the proper names occurring in the tablets seem to show that the contracting parties belonged to more than one nationality, and the characters, though of the same age, are not always of the same form. A good deal of misconception seems to exist on the subject of these Assyro-Aramaic inscriptions, some of which have been supposed to be as early as the 9th century B.C. This, however, is not the case, the oldest being not earlier than the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, and all belong to the century between 740 and 640 B.C.

One of the chief lessons taught us by the discovery of the Siloam inscription is that similar inscriptions still exist in Palestine if they are looked for in the right place. This is underground. It is useless to expect to find remains of the præ-exilic period except by the help of systematic excavation. Not only in Jerusalem itself, but also in the south of Judah, ancient Jewish monuments still lie buried, waiting for the spade to uncover them. I was greatly struck, when riding from Beit-Jibrîn to Gaza, by the number of ancient *tels* or mounds which I passed, each marking the site of an old city. To say nothing of Um Lakis, supposed to represent the site of Lachish, though the natives insisted upon calling it Um Latis to me, we have the great mound of Ajlân or Eglon, which must go back to the days of the Jewish monarchy, and is only exceeded in size by that of Zêta, a still unidentified site. But the whole plain abounds with *tels* of considerable size, and Gaza itself would be a fine field for digging.

A. H. SAYCE.

KIRJATH JEARIM.

THE interesting account of Lieutenant Conder's visit to Khûrbet 'Erma, induces me to ask consideration for the further suggestion regarding that spot, that there stood "the nameless city" of I Sam. ix. The scene of Saul's anointing is nameless in the Scripture narrative, which gives no authority for the statement of Josephus that it was Ramah. Possibly he inferred it from the mention of "the seer's house" (ver. 18). Little stress can be put on the wording of Saul's question as a stranger to a stranger in the city gate. It is significant that throughout the chapter Samuel is never once spoken of as "dwelling" in that city. "He is in the city" (ver. 6). "He came to-day to the city, for the people have a great sacrifice on the high place" (ver. 11). The people are not accustomed to eat till he comes, for he blesses the sacrifice." . . . "Now therefore get you up for about this time ye shall find him" (13). Such are the terms employed, which not only do not say that he dwelt in the city, but suggest the opposite, even that he was there for the occasion of the sacrificial feast.

Although no name is given, the position of the city is pretty fully indicated; Saul and his servant had gone "through all the land of Benjamin" when they came to it; and they returned from it by Rachel's sepulchre. The narrative requires us to find a city set on the upper slope of a hill so that it had a higher and lower part; and to find a high place just outside its gate which was honoured as a "Bamah" and place of gathering to offer sacrifice. These requirements are all met in Khūrbet 'Erma, if we accept it as the site of Kirjath Jearim. Saul and his servant, after going through all the land of Benjamin, would find themselves in its south quarter at Kirjath Jearim (Joshua xviii, 15); outside of Kirjath Jearim on the "gibeah" or hill in the house of Abinadab stood the Ark for twenty years. It is close to, and up from Beth-Shemesh, whence the Ark was brought hither. An easy morning walk would bring Samuel and Saul to the spot near which they must have been when the prophet anointed the king, not far from Rachel's sepulchre (1 Sam. x, 1, 2), on his return to Gibeah of Saul.

The course of Saul and his servant is easily traced through Benjamin and over by Soba (Zuph) to the border of the Philistines, beyond which it was vain to follow strayed asses, even if prudent. A reason for the silence of Scripture as to the name of the city may be found possibly in its being assumed that the place of festival and gathering for sacrifice before the Lord would be recognised as the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant. Josephus says, "Now while the city of Kirjath Jearim had the Ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about His worship." ("Ant." vi, 2, 1.) This statement seems based on 1 Sam. vii, 2. It certainly is hardly credible that Samuel would not frequent the place where stood the Ark of the Covenant, and have a house for his use on those occasions when there was, as on this occasion, "*a sacrifice of the people*" there.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.



GRONLECH N.W. OF AMMAN

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE reports and letters which are published in this number of the *Quarterly Statement*, show the very great value of Captain Conder's campaign of 1881. The singular prehistoric monuments, some of which had already been examined by Messrs. Irby and Mangles, Canon Tristram, and Herr Schick, have now been examined, sketched, and planned in detail. They are found to be grouped intentionally, not scattered about without regard to order. The four great centres of these rude stone monuments are proposed by Captain Conder to be identified with places of no less Biblical importance than Bamoth Baal, Baal Peor, the "top of Baal Peor which looked towards Jeshimon," and the sanctuary of Baal Peor, in the Jordan Valley. If these identifications are accepted we may, indeed, congratulate ourselves upon the first fruits of our expedition. The report on Arab Folk Lore is a contribution to a branch of the subject which we have as yet only touched. The importance and interest of the architectural discovery made by Captain Conder at Ammân may be gathered, not only from his own report, but from Professor Hayter Lewis's paper on the subject, reprinted by permission from the *Builder*.

The examination of the tunnel at the Pool of Siloam, the plan and drawings, of the newly discovered church, and the note on the ancient monuments of Western Palestine, are the results of the winter residence of the party in Jerusalem.

It was announced in the January *Quarterly Statement*, that further progress with the survey had been stopped by the Turkish authorities on account of informality in the Firmân. It was found necessary to apply to the Sultan for a new Firmân, and this has been done for the Committee by Lord Dufferin, Ambassador at the Porte, whose interest in the work of the Society is gratefully acknowledged by the Committee. Captain Conder also travelled to Constantinople in order to place himself at his Excellency's orders. The result has been a promise that a Firmân should be granted with permission to sketch, excavate, &c., within certain limits. Captain Conder has therefore returned to Jerusalem, in hopes that the Firmân may be signed at an early date, and so permit the resumption of field operations. In the meantime, the survey party is being usefully employed in plotting the survey on paper and in various minor inquiries into matters of Biblical and archæological interest.

As regards the publication of the various works in the Committee's hands, we take this opportunity of reporting that:—

1. The second volume of *Memoirs* will be sent out to subscribers in the second week in April.
2. Saunders' "Introduction to the Survey," is now ready.
3. The "Water Basin," edition of the reduced map, with the Sections, &c., is also ready.
4. The Old Testament map is already far advanced, and is expected in June.
5. The Index to the *Quarterly Statement* from the beginning is now ready, its price is 2s. 6d., including postage.

For those who have not yet had an opportunity of seeing the beautiful edition of the map called the "Water Basin" Edition, it may be well to explain that it differs from the former "Reduced Map" in having received certain additions. The most important of them is the marking out of the waterparting lines and the waterways, plains and highlands in colour, so as to show more clearly the conformation of the country, the lie of the hills, and the natural roads. This is done in colour. In addition, Mr. Saunders has drawn sections of the country, viz., one from east to west of Upper Galilee, and one of Lower Galilee, two from east to west of the Mountains of Judæa, and one from north to south. The map is like its predecessor, in six sheets and a portfolio.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

The amount of subscriptions for the year 1881 fell short by £200 of the amount spent on the Expedition East of the Jordan. At the same time there was an increase of £1,000 on the subscriptions of 1880. It is hoped that the increase will continue, and that the subscriptions of 1882 may reach the sum of £3,500, which is required for the carrying on of the Society's work. The unpaid accounts at the end of the year amounted to £778 5s. 11d., and the cash balance to £112 11s. 7d.; but the latter should be increased by the sum of about £1,500 still owing to the Committee on account of the various editions of the Map and Memoirs.

The expenditure of £2,647 6s. 6d. on "Maps and Memoirs" account includes the first three volumes of the *Memoirs*, Saunders' "Introduction," and the engraving and editions of the reduced maps. It includes the sum of £100 for extra clerk's work. This, if transferred to "Management," would raise the expenditure under that heading to 13·28 per cent. of the whole.

The whole expenditure of £6,487 2s. 8d. may be thus classified:—

Exploration	..	..	..	..	40·51 per cent.
Maps and Memoirs	..	..	..	..	40·81 „
Returned to Subscribers in Quarterly					
Statements	..	..	..	..	7·40 „
Management	..	..	..	..	11·28 „

BALANCE SHEET, 1881.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

67

1881.		£		s.	d.	£		s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance from 1880..	..	1,365	4	1	..	2,628	12	7
	Less unpaid account	..	260	15	3	..	2,647	6	6
						..	128	11	0
						..	398	5	1
	Subscriptions and Lectures	..	..	..	1,104	8	40	14	10
	Publications	..	..	..	2,430	5	436	2	8
	Photographs	..	..	..	144	6	70	18	0
	Map and Memoirs	..	..	..	18	10	136	11	0
	To unpaid accounts	..	..	..	2,123	15	112	11	7
					778	5	6,599	13	3

Expenditure on the Survey
Map and Memoirs
Rent
Printing
Advertising
Salaries and wages
Stationery, Office expenses, and Sundries ..
Postage
Balance

WALTER MORRISON,
Hon. Treasurer.

The income of the Society from all sources from December 16th, 1881, to March 15th, 1882, was £998 6s. 6d. The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, March 21st, was £429 7s. 5d.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

The following numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* are out of print. The Committee would be very much obliged by the return of duplicates or of any copies which may not be wanted. They are 1871—January and July; 1872—January and April; 1871—April, July, and October; 1874—January and October; 1880—January; and 1881—April.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to address the Secretary on the subject. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.



CAPTAIN CONDER'S REPORTS.

X.

BAMOTH BAAL AND BAAL PEOR.

AIN YALO, 21st November, 1881.

IN a former report I described briefly some of the rude stone monuments which we examined at Hesbân, but as yet I have not given any account of the still more interesting groups which we discovered later, including structures of seven different kinds, viz.: 1. dolmens (or cromlechs); 2. Menhirs or standing stones; 3. cubical stones in circles or standing alone; 4. Circles of rude stones piled in a heap; 5. Rude pillars; 6. Cairns; 7. Disk stones.

Of these the cromlechs or dolmens (whichever be the correct title) are the most numerous. In Wâdy Hesbân there are about 50; round Wâdy Jideid there are groups which give together a total of about 150. On the north side of the Zerka M'ain there is a large group, numbering some 150. At Mount Nebo there are only a very few in connection with a large stone circle and cairn. At 'Ammân we discovered 8 in all very much scattered. Near the Jabbok there is another group not yet visited, and in the Ghôr es Seisebân, for a distance of about two miles, between Wâdy Kefrein and Wâdy Hesbân, all the spurs are covered with dolmens, numbering between 200 and 300 in all, while north and south of these limits not a single specimen can be found for many miles. The total of 600 to 700 is thus divided into seven very distinct groups, each occurring in the vicinity of fine springs, and of hill-tops commanding an extensive view; and the impression which I noted in my former report is fully confirmed, for the dolmens are not scattered over the country without system, but are confined to localities at considerable distances apart, where they are crowded close together, generally appearing to group round a central point on a hill-top.

Although no previous traveller has been enabled to examine carefully all the groups mentioned, the discovery of such monuments dates back more than sixty years, to the time when Irby and Mangles made their adventurous journey to Moab and Gilead. At a later period the dolmens have been briefly described by Dr. Tristram; and some of the menhirs have been visited and measured by Herr Konrad Schick. The collection, however, of such a large number of examples, as are now noted, enables us to draw various conclusions which would not suggest themselves at first in studying these monuments.

The first distinct specimen of *menhirs* we found on the north bank of the Zerka M'ain. A very remarkable stone, 8 feet high, 4 feet 6 inches

broad, and about 2 feet thick, here stands up alone on a flat plateau, while on the low surrounding hills are numbers of large dolmens, some of which are very carefully constructed. The standing stone is called *Hajr el Mansûb*, a name signifying "the erected stone," and closely allied to the Hebrew *מצבה*, rendered generally "pillar" in the Old Testament.

About three quarters of a mile further west are still more remarkable remains. A flat knoll here rises within a sort of hill-theatre. On the south the plateau leads to the brink of a very steep slope, at the bottom of which the springs of the Zerka rise surrounded by oleander bushes. On the east, north, and west are spurs of hills which sink into the little plateau. The knoll is surrounded by remains of what was once a great circle of menhirs, varying in height from 3 feet to 6 feet, all of slightly rounded or pointed shape at the top, and from 2 feet to 3 feet broad at the base.

There appears to have been a second similar circle higher up the slope of the knoll, within that already described; and on the highest part are three very conspicuous stones, the loftiest being 6 feet high. There are three



rows of similar menhirs on the east side of the knoll; and the plateau seems at one time to have been converted into a square court, by similar *cippi*, of which one row exists on the south running east for 30 yards, and another on the east running north and south for a greater distance.

On the north-west, immediately outside and adjoining the large circle, is a single dolmen, which thus seems to form a door to the circle, like those smaller reproductions of this class of monument which I have already described as being still constructed, by the Arabs of the district, round sacred tombs.

The hill spurs which surround this remarkable circle are all covered

with dolmens, of which there are at least 150 in all. They occupy the slopes of the spurs, and are almost without exception in view of the menhir knoll which appears to form the centre. On the plateau, which measures about 400 yards either way, are several smaller stones, arranged within the square court and south of the knoll, which is surrounded by the circle. About twelve or more are scattered over this area without any special method being apparent in their grouping.

On the northern hill, close to the dolmens, are three of the curious recesses which I before mentioned in connection with the Hesbân crom-lechs. These are cut in rock, and two are only 3 feet and 4 feet respectively in length, while the middle one measures 6 feet by 7 feet. East of the Hajr el Mansûb is a very fine winepress, with three chambers, and on the hill north of the circle is a large flat cairn. The place does not, however, command any special view, save that of the great Zerka valley, and of the fine springs just below the plateau. The whole of the site obtains the name *Umm ez Zueitinch*, "mother of the little olive tree," and although there is no evidence that olives ever existed, the Arabs say that oil was once made here, and point to the great winepress as evidence—supposing it to be an oil-press, which is clearly impossible.

The real origin of the name may perhaps, however, be traced in the title *el Mareighât*, which is applied to the menhir circle. This signifies "the places smeared" with oil, blood, or any thick liquid, and this appellation seems to me, as I hope to show immediately, to be of the greatest value in determining the origin and character of the curious monuments above described.

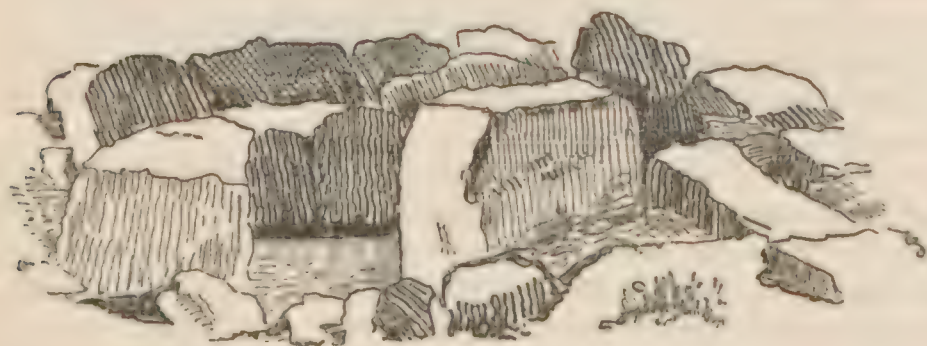
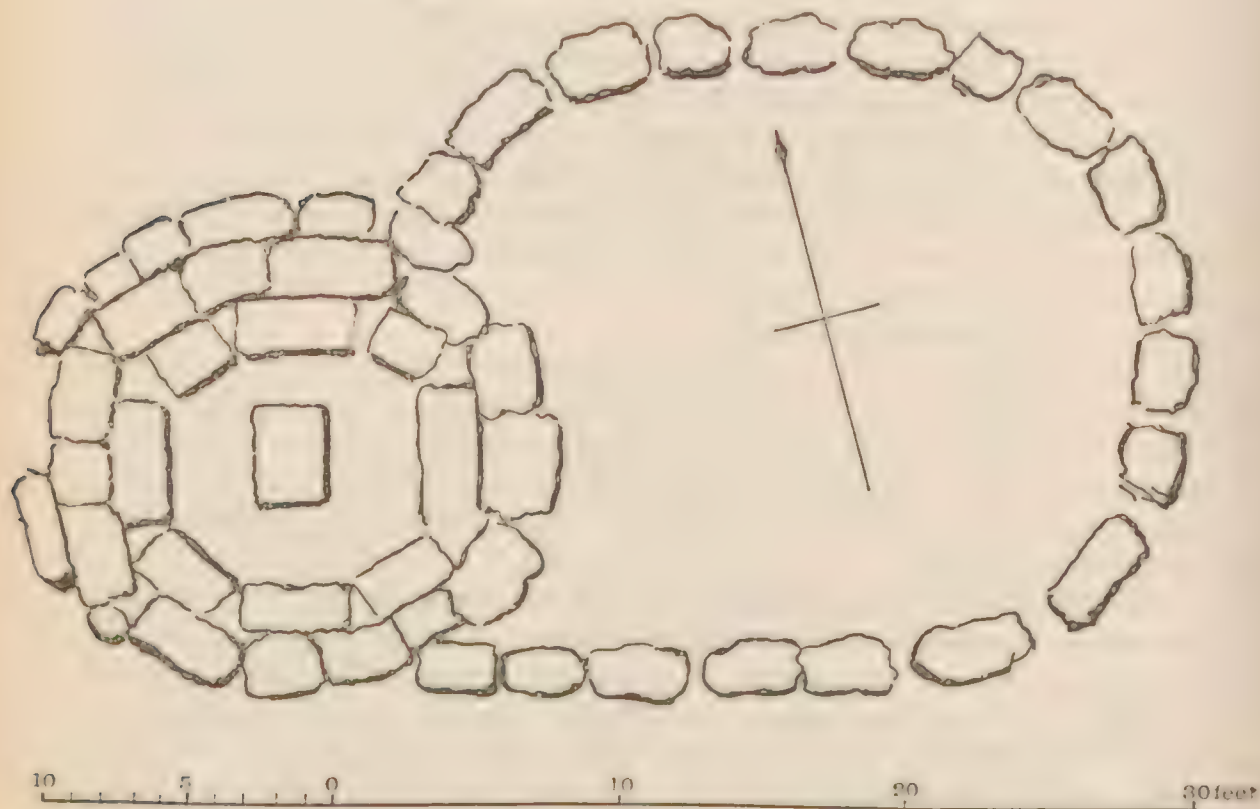
Before visiting this site, we had not come across any very distinct specimens of similar monuments, although remains of a circle of upright stones and one or two isolated stones were found among the dolmen of Hesbân. When, however, we reached 'Ammân we discovered three menhirs in different directions, one 12 ft. high (now fallen), one 8 ft. high (still standing), and a third only 4½ ft. high. The second mentioned had a hollow in one side measuring 9 inches by 5 inches, and 5 inches deep, the third had a cup-shaped hollow in the top, 6 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep. Another isolated stone, 11 ft. long and 5 ft. broad, was afterwards found by Lieutenant Mantell among the dolmens of Kefrein, having a recess in the side 18 inches by 8 inches and 6 inches deep. The object of these niches will be suggested immediately.

Three miles west of El Mareighât is the little plateau which forms the edge of the highlands, and whence a sharp descent leads to the lower plateau over the Dead Sea cliffs. Here 400 feet down the western slope is the spring called 'Ain Minyeh, and on the very edge of the plateau above occurs a row of seven stone monuments, differing in character from those already noticed. The best specimen is the most southern of the group, and this was photographed by Lieutenant Mantell; the rest, which are all within half a mile distance, are clearly of the same construction, though partly destroyed.

A stone, rudely squared, measuring 3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 5 inches

and 3 feet 6 inches high, stands in the centre of a circle, or rather polygon, of similar rudely dressed stones; the diameter of the structure was about 6 feet, and the side walls, originally two courses in height, were more than 4 feet to the top. On the east a sort of little court, 30 feet across, is formed by a rude circle of rather small stones. By one of these monuments is a flat rock, in which a small trough, 18 inches long, 1 foot broad, and 3 inches deep, has been cut (evidently artificially).

Minyeh Rude Stone Monument.



The name *Mena* (from the same root with *Minyeh*) also applies to a single stone, 8 feet long 3 feet high, which is found further north, close to a group of rude pillars, to be described immediately. The word signifies

"desire" and the stone in question is considered to be a "wishing stone," where the Arabs of the district (the 'Ajerneh) go to wish for anything they may desire. In the same way 'Ain Minyeh is called the "spring of desire," because, according to a long legend hereafter to be related, Máin 'Aly here fainted with thirst, and was instructed by Allah to strike the ground with his spear, when the fountain at once sprang out of the hillside. But while this interpretation of the words Mena and Minyeh is well known to the Arabs, they are not apparently aware of the origin or purpose of the seven stones at Minyeh, which they state to be very old, and call only Rujûm, or "cairns." They do not appear to hold sacred either these or the other stones at El Mareighât; and they consider the dolmens, as noticed in a previous report, to be haunted by ghosts, and consequently erect stone pillars in their vicinity as a propitiation.

Another monument similar to those at Minyeh was measured by Lieutenant Mantell south of Kefrein. A circle, about 12 feet in diameter, here surrounded a stone, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, and 2 feet 6 inches high, the circle consisting of blocks of black limestone, 2 to 3 feet long, rudely squared. It should be noted that these monuments are perfectly distinct from the stone enclosures and platforms which mark the sites of Arab encampments, and which form the primitive Bedawin bedsteads. For those that have seen specimens of both these structures it is impossible to mistake one for the other.

In connection with the dolmens and menhirs stone circles also occur. The largest specimen found is the place called Hadânieh, just above 'Ain Jideid. It is 250 feet in diameter, with walls from 27 feet to 41 feet thick. The survey camp was pitched inside it, as a safeguard against horse thieves, by whom we were disturbed nearly every night. A little modern Arab circle, with its altar door on the west (as noted in my previous report) occurs just outside the great circle on the south-east; and the great ancestor with its diminutive descendant present an interesting and instructive contrast. On Mount Nebo is a similar stone circle of about the same size, with walls 12 feet thick. The stones in both cases are undressed, averaging about 2 feet in length; and appears to have been simply heaped up, and not built into a vertical wall. Two other stone circles were visited by Lieutenant Mantell east of 'Ammân, within a quarter of a mile of one another; they were about 60 feet in diameter, with walls about 18 inches high; approaching more nearly to the circles which the modern Arabs form round the tombs of distinguished chiefs. In one of these circles, and in that at Hadânieh, a central wall along the diameter divides the interior into two portions. The only use which the Arabs could suggest for these structures was that they were formerly "theatres." They recognize, however, their similarity to the sacred enclosures where they now keep their property above the tomb of an ancestor, and liken the altar gates of their own structures to the cromlechs or *Biât el Ghâl*.

The pillars mentioned at the commencement of this report are called *Serâbât* by the Arabs. The first which we observed was apparently a menhir, 6 feet high, and 2 feet thick at the bottom, tapering slightly and

supported by a column stump on one side. It stands all alone south-east of the ruins of *el 'Al* (Elealah).

Another in the ruined village of *Kufair Abi Sarbât* is more doubtful, as it may only be a column shaft much worn by time. It is 8 feet high and about 3 feet 9 inches in diameter. It stands at the east end of a sort of courtyard, and no remains of capital or base were found in connection with it. Two other groups west of Heshûn are known as *Serbât el Mushukker* and *Serbât el Muhattah*. In the one case there are eleven or twelve pillars in a group, but without any particular arrangement; in the other there are about a couple of dozen. The shaft is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet in diameter and 3 to 8 feet in height. A square base, about 2 feet to 2 feet 3 inches wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high, is cut out of the same block with the column. No remains of any building occurs in either case, but the *Hajr el Menat* above noticed is close by. The pillars might be taken for Roman milestones; but there is no road near them, and the situation is one not likely to have been chosen by Roman engineers for a line of communication. This connection with the "wishing stone" seems to suggest that they may have been monuments of the same class with the menhirs, but constructed by more civilized tribes.

The great cairns found in connection with the rude stone monuments are few in number. They are to be found generally on the tops of hills, round the sides of which the dolmens are grouped; they are of very various shapes, some high, some very flat, and are composed as a rule of stones from 1 foot to 2 feet across, not shaped, but merely gathered from the ground.

The disk-stones referred to in the first paragraph are three in number, and are much like millstones in appearance. Their great size and the absence of any remains of a foundation or other parts of a mill in their vicinity is, however, a reason for regarding them as having some other purpose. The first at *Kufair Abu Bedd* ("little village of the millstone") is 9 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 1 foot 4 inches thick. It stands up in the middle of the ruins, having been sunk to a depth of 3 feet in the ground; it has no hole in the centre such as is found in ordinary millstones, which are from 2 feet to 4 feet in diameter. The second disk-stone at *el Kueijtyeh* is 6 feet in diameter, and has also no hole in the centre.

The third stone is yet more remarkable; it lies in the Ghor south of *Kefrein*, beside a thorn tree; it is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and 3 feet 6 inches thick, being far too large and heavy ever to have been used as a millstone. It is pierced by a cylindrical hole in the middle, 2 feet in diameter. The Arabs call it *Mensef Abu Zeid* "the dish of Abu Zeid," and relate that this mythical hero (one of the black champions of the time before the Prophet) here sacrificed a whole camel, which he gave as a feast to the local Arabs when he was about to leave the Ghor. The rice was heaped over the camel on the stone in a pile, which must have been 10 feet high, while the *Semen* or melted butter ran down the hole in the middle—a royal feast on a round table, which calls to mind the legend of Arthur in a very suggestive manner.

A few words must now be devoted to the dolmens or cromlechs, which form by far the largest group of the rude stone monuments in Moab. At the Maslûbiyeh group I measured and examined every specimen I found, amounting to 146 in all. The measurements are reduced to a tabular form, and sketches were taken of every monument which remains standing uninjured. Our treatment of the Hesbân and Sûmia groups, and of those at 'Ammân was equally exhaustive; but time did not allow of our attempting excavations, and at el Mareighât and Kefrein we were only able to measure a few selected specimens. It would be most interesting to give further attention to the dolmens, especially to those which have floor stones, for the raising of these great slabs might reveal ancient sepulchres and lead to the recovery of prehistoric remains of a most important character.

The dolmens consist of three, four, five, or six stones; the simplest are those with a table-stone supported on two stone legs. They are in very many cases closed by a stone at one end, and in others they have a floor-stone in addition. One specimen which we found was a large and carefully constructed monument, a perfect chest with top, sides, ends, and floor-stone. In size the dolmens vary extremely, from 2 to 6 feet in height, and from 4 feet to 14 feet in breadth of the table-stone. The finish of the work is also very different in the various groups; those at el Mareighât and Maslûbiyeh consist in many cases of stones which have evidently been rudely dressed; and very small stones are introduced between the side stones and end stone, so as to prop the former up more nearly vertical. At 'Ammân most of the dolmens are of flint-conglomerate; in the Jordan valley they are smaller and ruder, being made of dark metamorphic limestone, which is very hard and rough.

But although the gate-like or box-shaped monument is the most typical, it is by no means the only form which occurs in the large groups examined; there are many smaller specimens in which the table stone is supported not by two legs but by stones of smaller size irregularly piled up; in some cases one end rests on the ground, on the steep slope of a hill side, while on the lower side stones are built up high enough to make the top of the table-stone fairly horizontal. It is easy to distinguish these structures from the fallen dolmens of the larger class. Simpler still are the specimens which are to be found at Hesbân, 'Ammân, and el Maslûbiyeh, where a single stone, perhaps only 4 feet long, is propped up by one little stone 8 inches to a foot high. These small tables are nevertheless as distinctly made by human agency as are the great trilithons which occur close to them.

The floor-stones suggest the existence of a grave beneath the dolmen, but in two instances where, by lying down and peeping under, it was possible to see beneath the floor-stone, it was found to lie on hard rock, and no appearance of a trench was seen. The majority of the dolmens, in fact, stand on naked rock, and show no signs of a grave. Many are too small to have contained a human figure within the monument itself, unless it were the body of a child, while the table-stones without side stones are

clearly not intended as sepulchres. The occurrence of the dolmen-gate to the circle of el Mareighât, taken in conjunction with the Arab custom of making a small trilithon, a kind of gate and altar combined, on the west side of their sacred circle, are indications of great interest ; but the use of cromlechs as tombs in Western Europe must not be forgotten, and it is possible that the larger monuments with floor-stones may yet prove to be sepulchres.

The cup-shaped hollows are also a most interesting feature of these monuments. We have already seen one case of a menhir with such a hollow. The greater number of dolmens have hollows in the top stone. In many cases these might be thought to be merely worn by the rain, but in others they are very carefully shaped. One example at Sûmich has five cups varying from 10 inches to 2 inches in diameter. Near el Kueijîyeh is another large dolmen, the top stone measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and having 40 holes in all, of which the largest was 10 inches in diameter. Some of these hollows were arranged round the edge of the top surface of this stone ; others, near the centre, were connected together by little channels leading towards the outer row of hollows. At 'Ammân a still more instructive example was noted, where the top stone measured 11 feet by 13 feet, with four large shallow basins formed in it ; these varied from 2 feet to 1 foot in length, and were about 12 inches deep ; a complete network of shallow channels led from the upper edge of the table-stone (which is tilted considerably out of the horizontal) to one hollow in the centre of the table. Traces of other channels were observed, and it seemed clear that the cups were intended to receive some fluid, poured on the stone and allowed to run down from the higher edge. In connection with this detail it is necessary to note that the table-stone of the dolmens is more usually tilted at a slight inclination from the horizontal than arranged quite flat, and this can hardly be accidental, since the side stones are often as before noted propped up in truly vertical position, by small pebbles introduced between the stones. In cases where the table-stone has been held up on one side only by small stones, the other end resting against the hill side, it would seem to have been a simple matter to ensure the horizontal position, but in nearly every case the table is more or less tilted, and this is specially noticeable in the great 'Ammân specimen, the channels of which have just been described, and which has a table-stone resting at one end on the rock surface of the hill, and so tilted as to make any liquid run down the existing channel to the central cup or pool.

Another indication must also not be forgotten, namely, that Lieutenant Kitchener, in 1877, found the name *Hajr ed Damm* ("stone of blood") applied to a fine cromlech in Upper Galilee.

The cup-shaped hollows are not exclusively found in the table-stones, they often occur in the flat rock surface beside the monument, and in one case the floor-stone had a very well formed cup cut near one end. The Arabs still form such hollows in the rock, and use them as mortars for grinding gunpowder ; but their excavations are larger than those near the cromlechs, and are black inside from the powder. Cup-shaped hollows

are common in Palestine on bare rocks, often far away from villages, and have puzzled the Survey Party for many years. They were thought to be small presses for wine, or mortars for pounding the gleanings of wheat which are threshed separately by the women. It is possible, however, that they mark the sites of former groups of dolmens which have been destroyed by the later settled population.

There are no indications of the dolmens having ever been covered by mounds of earth, or cairns of stone. Such cairns would require to be at least 20 feet high in many cases, and the number of cairns of this size still existing in Moab is very small. At el Maslûbiyeh, moreover, there is a line of some twenty dolmens all close together, almost touching each other. The cairn or mound necessary to cover all these would have been of enormous size, and not a trace of such a structure exists. In some cases, however, a circle of stones surrounds the dolmen, and Lieutenant Mantell discovered a group in the Jordan valley, in which every specimen stood on a sort of platform made by a circle of stones sunk flush with the present surface. Heaps of small stones here lay on the ground near the monuments sometimes touching the sides, while, as I have previously reported, heaps of stones and little pillars (Kehâkîr) are still erected by the Arabs in the vicinity of a group of "ghouls' houses" as they call them, just as they are piled up on fallen pillar shafts in any ruined building when held sacred, notably in the little shrine of Jeriyet 'Aly, near the Lake of Homs. The reason for these stone piles we may be able to conjecture immediately.

A few general remarks may be added to the above notes on the dolmens. They have no orientation, but, as Lieutenant Mantell pointed out, they are arranged with the length of the side stone parallel to the contour of the hill side, a position which must have made their construction less difficult, as the table-stone was no doubt slid down hill and pushed over from the nearer side stone to the further. This may also account for the fact that the dolmens appear never to have been built on the *top*, but always on the slope of the hill.

They do not seem to have any specially chosen position, but were rather placed where material was found ready to hand. Thus at 'Ain Jideid there are 156 cromlechs south and east of the spring, but only one on the north; the reason being that the dip of the strata is such that loose rocks and broken cliffs occur on the one side, but a steep uniform slope without cliff on the other. Nevertheless, the group of cromlechs, taken as a whole, seems in every case to be referable to a centre. At 'Ain Jideid this centre is found in the great stone-circle of Hidânieh, already noticed, just above the spring, while on the south the hill top is occupied by a great cairn, and the slopes thickly strewn with cromlechs, and on the east the isolated hill-top of Kueijtyeh with the disk-stone on the very top is in like manner encircled with dolmens.

The cromlechs in the large majority of cases are within easy view of the centre, though this is not quite an invariable rule. The centres occur on high tops, commanding in almost every case a fine view over the Jordan valley, and in every case situate in the immediate vicinity of a

fine stream or spring. In districts where no springs occur, no cromlechs are found, although suitable material could often have been obtained. In the case of el Mareighât the centre is formed by the group of *menhirs* on the knoll above the Zerka springs, for an amphitheatre of hill spurs is here occupied by cromlechs, commanding as a rule a view of the valley; and in nearly every case within sight of the centre. The reason given by the Arabs for the erection of stone heaps near the cromlechs is that a view of Neby Mûsa, west of Jordan, is thence obtained; but we found such heaps occasionally in connection with examples which were not in view of that sanctuary, and the explanation is probably more modern than the custom, and naturally results from the position of the groups within view of the Ghôr. The more intelligent Arabs are ashamed to call the cromlechs "ghouls' houses," but they are no doubt not less free than the rest from a superstitious fear of these places, which may arise from traditions such as still cling to our English Druidic remains.

I have already referred to the curious chambers cut in detached blocks of rock near the dolmen. As a rule they are not more than 4 or 5 feet long: in some cases the door was like that of an ordinary rock-tomb, and seems to have been closed by a slab. In a few cases the chamber within was from 6 to 7 feet long, and presented all the appearance of a single grave or *Koka*. The Arab graves do not resemble either the rock-chambers in question or the dolmens. Women and thieves are interred by piling a cairn of stones over their bodies, or by throwing them into a cave or pit. Many of the survey cairns covered the decaying corpses of women, or of men slain in a fight, or shot while stealing. The men of good position repose in an ordinary grave, dug in earth and provided with a stone at either end. These graves are oriented, and the faithful lies on his right side, with his face to Mecca. On the two end stones Munker and Nukr, like Isis and Nephtys in Egypt, will sit in judgment on his soul. A holy man has his tomb surrounded by a circle, with an altar gate placed on the west (except among the Zabi tribe from Haurân, who place the entrance on the south or east). The great Sheikhs (like the late Fendi el Fâiz, who lies buried in the Ghôr, amid his old enemies the 'Adwân, at the place where he died while on a journey) are covered by a monument of stone 10 feet high, the top being an apparent imitation of a sarcophagus lid. On the sides of such tombs, strictly in contradiction to Moslem custom, are sculptures rudely representing a horseman, a bow, a coffee-mill, with cups, spoon, and jug, thus symbolising alike the prowess and liberality of the defunct. After examining many sites, both east and west of Jordan, where a tomb is made by carving a rock sarcophagus on the top of an isolated rock knoll, so as to make a conspicuous monument with very little trouble, I cannot but think that the white Arab tombs, on the tops of tells, are imitations of the sarcophagus of the Greek or Roman period on its rocky height.

It is clear, therefore, that the cromlechs and the accompanying rock chambers have no connection with ordinary Arab graves. To return to the former, the cromlechs or dolmens were not found to contain any

sculptures, names, or inscriptions. A few Arab tribe-marks were found on one or two of the menhirs, and copied—they belong to tribes in the immediate vicinity, but the cromlechs were apparently quite without any sculpture either within or without. In the Roman tombs of 'Ammân, on the other hand, the tribe marks (some apparently very old) are carved as thickly as possible. I shall have occasion in a future report to explain why the Arabs place tribe-marks on certain buildings. They appear to be signs of "good luck," and it is therefore not unnatural that they should be absent from the "ghouls' houses," which are supposed to be far from propitious places.

To sum up the results of this rapid analysis of the Moabite rude stone monuments, so far as they themselves indicate their own origin. We find stone *cippi* of two kinds, one upright, from 4 to 12 feet high, the other cubical, and generally surrounded by a stone circle. These are both rare, and the only places where they occur in numbers are at al Mareighât and 'Ain Minyeh respectively, or within three miles of one another. There are, however, a few others south of the Zerka M'ain, as yet not visited, including, I believe, a monument not unlike Stonehenge, in Wâdy Wâleh. The disk-stones, the groups of rude *tums* or *hermeti*, and the single menhirs, are also not numerous, while the cairns and circles are found in greater numbers, according to Canon Tristram, south of the Zerka M'ain. The dolmens occur at certain sites by hundreds, and from their position and numbers and their floor-stones in some cases, together with the use (or re-use) of dolmens as tombs in Europe, may be regarded as representing prehistoric cemeteries, near sacred hills and springs. On the other hand, it is clear that many of them are merely tables or rude altar stones propped up for the offering of victims, and that the cup-shaped hollows with the channels are most probably intended for libations of wine, or of blood, poured over the slanting surface of the table-stone. The use of diminutive dolmens among the Arabs as gates to sacred circles, and the occurrence of such a gate at el Mareighât, must also be borne in mind; and the connection of the Galilean specimen with the idea of a bloody sacrifice.

It must, however, here be noted that the Moslem tombs in all Syria have in their roofs or flat tops two cup-shaped hollows, sometimes enlarged and filled with mould (in which roses or other flowers are grown), but generally small, and containing only a little dew or rain water, for thirsty birds or the sacred doves, whom the deceased is thus able to show charity towards even after his death. It is very remarkable that this custom is also still prevalent in Brittany among the Christian peasantry; or just in one of these districts where some of the finest specimens of European dolmens with cup-shaped hollows occur.

By glancing at the history of stone monuments in the East, we may, however, be able to understand better the origin of those found in Moab. The following notes are due to a study of the works of Sir William Muir, M. F. Lenormant, and other Oriental authorities; but I am unfortunately unable at the present moment to consult Mr. J. Fergusson's beautiful book

on rude stone monuments, having left the book in England. I hope to be able to correct and supplement this report at a future period, after reference to this great architectural authority.

It is a fact beyond dispute that the Arabs before the time of Mohammed consecrated stones as idols, or emblems of their divinities. To these monuments they gave the name *Nasb* (Pl. *Ansab*), which is the same title still applied to the great menhir called Hajr Mansub, and radically connected with the Hebrew **עֲמֻדָּה** or "pillar," such as that which Jacob anointed with oil (Gen. xxxviii, 18), or the "great stone" which Joshua set up near Shechem under an oak (Josh. xxiv, 26), which is mentioned later as the "oak of the *pillar* that was in Shechem" (Judges ix, 6). The black stone of Venus at Mecca, and the red stone of her companion Hobal, the stones of Asâf and Nailah, and that of Khalasah, near the Kabah, are among the most famous Arab examples, and it is very remarkable that the red stone of Hobal is said to have been actually brought from the Belka, that is from Moab to Mecca.

Such stone worship was, moreover, of great antiquity in Arabia. The Nabatheans at Petra worshipped a square black stone before the Christian era, and Herodotus (iii. 8) speaks of seven stones which the Arabs swore by and sprinkled with blood. Antoninus Martyr (600 A.D.) was shown such a stone in Horeh, and the existing *Sakhrat* at Jerusalem must not be forgotten, for the Arabs consecrated both rocks and cubical stones alike to *Allât* or *Mena*.

Seven stones stood once in the valley of Mena, where three still form part of the objects of Haj ritual. Seven stones also surrounded the Kaabah, and Arab authorities state that they were smeared with the blood of sacrifices—a practice mentioned in early Arab poetry, while it is also alluded to by Herodotus. Bishop Porphyry, of Gaza, in the 5th century, says that the Arabs of Duma used annually to sacrifice a child and bury it at the foot of a *cippus*. It appears probable, therefore, that the human sacrifices which we read of in Moab at so late a period continued to be offered in Arabia almost as late as the time of Mohammed.

The worship of stones, especially *cippi*, can be carried back, however, much further. Pagan customs, which date back 3000 B.C., continued to be observed in Palestine until at least the 6th century A.D. Marna at Gaza (whose statue was lately found) was worshipped as late as 500 A.D., and we hear of the worship of Venus at Ascalon and Accho (in the Talmud) down to the same period. Tammuz had a grove at Bethlehem in the fourth century A.D. The sacred fishes of Venus are still held sacred at Acre and at Tripoli, and human sacrifice is still said to exist among the Perso-Gnostic sects of Northern Syria, who have stone altars still existing in sacred groves, like those of the Druids of our own country. In the same way the Arab stone worship can be traced back to Assyria, for in the temple of Oruk, in Chaldea, seven black stones are noticed, in a cuneiform text, as having been worshipped. Among the Phœnicians the "stones with souls," called *Batalia*, formed an important religious feature, and appear to have been, like the Arab stone monuments, at once idol and altar. Two

"ambrosial" stones are mentioned on Phœnician coins, and were believed to exist under the sea near Tyre.

Greece adopted stone idols from Asia, as she adopted many other Asiatic emblems, and the stone of Hermes formed the original prototype of the beautiful statuary of Athens. At Seleucia, near Antioch, were found the "*lapides qui divi dicuntur*," and at Emesa and Laodicea black stones were adored. The "stone which fell from Heaven" at Ephesus is mentioned in the New Testament.

The ancient Arabs worshipped only two deities in common—one male, one female—amid many others peculiar to various tribes. These two, *Allah* and *Allât*, representing Saturn and Jupiter on one side, Venus and the moon on the other, were symbolised by two different kinds of stone monuments. Those of the male deity were *cippi* or standing stones with a rounded summit, those of the female deity were cubical blocks. Thus at the Taif sanctuary a white cubical stone symbolised *Allât*, while in Greece the same distinction existed between the pillar of Hermes and the cubical stone of Cybele.

It appears, therefore, that the two kinds of monuments found near one another at al Mareighât and at Minyeh answer exactly to the two varieties of stones worshipped by the ancient Pagans. The cup-shaped hollow in the *cippus* at 'Ammân is a most interesting feature in connection with the libations of blood poured over such stones; and the name Mareighât, "smeared," may refer to this practice, though the connection of the site with a tradition of an oil-press may rather suggest that they were smeared with oil, reminding us of Jacob's stone of Bethel, of the ambrosial stones of Tyre, and of similar "stones of unction" in India not less than in Jerusalem. But we see further that these monuments may have been erected long before the time of Arab history, and may quite well belong to the old idolatry of Moab; for the Arabs of the district, though belonging to one of the oldest of the Belka tribes, have apparently no tradition in connection with these monuments, and have no veneration for them.

The *cippus* was the proper emblem of the Moabite deity Baal Peor, who with the female Asherah answers in general character to the Arab Allah and Allât. The ritual of his worship, as described by Maimonides, has striking analogies with the worship of the stones Asaf and Nailah before the time of Islam, and although the name of Baal Peor no longer survives, it would appear most proper to assign him a sanctuary at the only site in Moab where the *cippi* occur in great numbers.

The name Minyeh, and the existence of seven cubical stones in circles at the spot, alike point to this locality—only three miles distant from the fomer—as being sacred to a female deity like the Asherah or "grove,"—the couple of Baal Peor. The name *Meni* is one of the titles of *Allât* or Venus among the early Arabs.

Meni and Gad appear as an idolatrous couple in the Bible (Is. lxxv, 11), answering to the two "fortunes" of ancient mythology, Jupiter and Venus. To them the Israelites "prepared a table" (perhaps a rude stone altar), and

"furnished a drink offering" (perhaps of blood), and it is striking to find the name Jideid, from the root *Jedl* (approaching the name Gad), applying to the next great group of rude stone monuments that occur north of Minyeh. The name Minai, or "Venus worshippers" (enchanters and fortune tellers), was applied by the Jews to various heretical sects, and to the Christians of Capernaum, as I have shown in "Tent Work in Palestine." The moon was adored at a sacred rock near Medineh, under the name *Mendt*, from the same root, and the sacred stone of Khalasah ("refuge") near Mecca, stood in the valley of *Mena*. We have also seen that the stone of *Mena*, or "desire," is of the kind symbolising the female deity *Allât*, and occurring in connection with *cippi* north of Minyeh. The recesses in the sides of these stones, described on an earlier page, seem to resemble the little niches in sacred caves in Palestine, where the peasants place figs, pomegranate blossoms, fragments of blue earthenware or glass, as offerings to the local divinity. It was the male deity to whom bloody sacrifices were offered, and we find no cup-shaped hollows in the cubical stones, though they occur sometimes on neighbouring rocks.

It may be thought that the *cippi* thus described are perhaps only boundary stones, but the connection between such stones and the old stone idols is very close. The *herma*, which formed the earliest mile-stones, were but emblems of Hermes (the nocturnal deity), and the stone of Ebenezer, even in the Bible, was at once a sacred monument, and a boundary of the country conquered from the Philistines.

It appears, therefore, probable from a study of existing names and monuments, that the sites of Mareighât and Minyeh represent two ancient centres of the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth, of Baal Peor and Asherah.

There is another curious name in this vicinity, viz., el Maslûbiyeh, the hill south of 'Ain Jideid, which is covered with dolmens. It signifies "crucifixion," and is not understood by the Arabs, so far as we could ascertain. There is a good deal which is curious in connection with crosses east of Jordan. One Arab tribe of the Beni Sakhr clan, are said to have a cross for their tribe mark. At 'Ammân I found a slab with a large Byzantine cross in a circle carefully placed in the side of an Arab tomb as an ornament (which is quite contrary to ordinary Moslem ideas). At Hesbân, also, we found a head-stone to a modern grave, ornamented with a rude bust having a cross beneath, apparently Bedawin work. Considering, however, the early conversion of the Beni Ghassan Arabs of the Haurân to Christianity; the remains of so many Byzantine ruins in the Belka (although with most remarkably few churches); and the survival of a Greek congregation at Kerch, holding the most extraordinary views of their own, it seems probable that the name Maslûbiyeh is of Christian origin, and connected with the great lintel bearing a Greek cross, which lies in the valley to the north close to 'Ain Jideid.

The stone circles which have been noticed above resemble those found by Palgrave in Arabia, of which one in Jebel Shomer was connected with the astronomical cult of Dârim. A similar cromlech is said to exist on the

Eleusinian, *viâ Sacra*, and it is very curious that the term "gal-gal" is applied in Brittany to heaps of rolled stones near cromlechs. A learned authority in Edinburgh has lately written to point out to me the connection between the trilithon dolmens and the "sacred gates" of Eastern Asia, with the stones beneath or between which the superstitious still crawl in Germany, and thus with "wishing gates" (as in the Lake District), and with the pillars, in the Jerusalem Haram and elsewhere, between which the believer must squeeze in order to attain to Paradise. This is a very abstruse mythological question, the meaning of the ceremony being, however, made clear by students of Indian and Egyptian myths, but it is sufficient here to point out that the miniature cromlech is still used as the door of the sacred enclosure by the Arabs, and that a cromlech adjoins the circle at el Mareighât in a precisely similar manner.

The doors of the modern circles are, however, used as altars as well, and when we consider the structure of those monuments already described, with tilted table-stones and channels leading to cup-shaped hollows, it seems only natural to conclude that many, if not all, the rude stone monuments with a broad "table" or top stone were used—if not originally constructed—as altars. That human sacrifices were most probably offered on the dolmens, and that the "blood which is the life" of the victim was collected in the hollows, and perhaps served to sprinkle the congregation.

The use of great stones for the sacrifice of animals is mentioned in the Old Testament, when Saul commanded, "roll a great stone unto me this day" (1 Sam. xiv. 33), the people having transgressed in their hunger by eating "with the blood;" and it seems not impossible that this stone was the altar mentioned immediately after, as built by Saul to Jehovah.

The cup-shaped hollows are, however, found as before stated on modern tombs. In Finland, a great stone was believed to exist on some mythical hill, wherein were hollows into which the magician charmed the diseases of his patients. In the face of learned opinion, which is in favour of the theory that dolmens were originally used as tombs, and in face of the fact that they are actually found to have been used as such in Brittany, it may appear bold to revert to the idea that dolmens were altars, but we know that human sacrifices to the Manes were often offered on tombs—as is mentioned in the *Iliad*, and this may perhaps serve to reconcile the two views in a certain degree. The Moabite dolmens, however, do not seem to show much evidence of having been tombs, while in many cases—at all events, as regards the flat slabs, propped up on one side, they present exactly the appearance of such a "table" as was spread to Gad, or to the savage Chemosh of Dibon, pacified by the blood of human victims.

I have written fully on the question of these monuments, not only on account of the interest of the subject, but also in support of the view put forward in a previous report on Nebo, in which I suggested that the dolmens on Nebo might have some connection with the story of Balaam and Balak—an idea which might perhaps be thought to be a hasty

surnise. Considering how constantly the seven stones appear in Assyrian, Phœnician, and Arab Pagan ritual as seven altars (sometimes with an eighth of larger size), it is not unnatural to connect the seven altar-like structures which still remain on the high place of Minyeh, with the seven altars built on each of those heights in succession by Balak. They were constructed rapidly, and from materials on the spot, and they stood on the slopes apparently, and not on the tops of the hills. The seven cubical stones at Minyeh seem undoubtedly to have belonged to the worship of seven planets, and of the great goddess Allât, the chief of all. In the ceremonies of the Haj, the number (seven) in the same way continually recurs in every action of the pilgrim, and the seven stones are found in Assyria from the earliest times of planetary worship.

Another very curious question relates to the cairns and to the piles of stones found round some of the cromlechs, as well as beside many roads in Palestine and Syria, for it refers to one of the most curious, and perhaps inexplicable peculiarities of the Semitic idolatry and of Greek mythology.

St. Jerome, in translating the words "as he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool" (Prov. xxvi, 8), by the expression, "Like him who throws a stone on the back of Mercury," has shown an intimate acquaintance with Semitic idolatry—surviving in his own days at Bethlehem—and has supplied a very forcible parallel which is missed in the English text: for the worship of a deity by throwing stones at him seems a very senseless worship, but is nevertheless alluded to very often in the Talmud, and by Maimonides (on Aboda Zarah, &c.). The Rabbis use the expression *Marculim*—a corruption of Mercury—as the name of the deity thus worshipped. The Hebrew **בִּמְרִגְמָה** rendered "in a sling," is more probably "on a heap;" and the name *Merjemeh*, in Palestine, still denotes a hill-top covered with a cairn. Maimonides says that Markulim was worshipped by "throwing little stones," and in Greece, a heap of stones by a wayside was called Hermaion, in memory of the stones thrown by the Gods at Hermes when he killed Argus. The throwing of stones was the last ceremony of the Eleusinian mysteries, and of other feasts, and the same practice is observed to the present day, for the Jews throw stones at the so-called tomb of Absalom near Jerusalem, and the Mecca pilgrims throw stones at the three surviving stone monuments in the valley of Mena—in memory, they say, of the stones thrown at Eblis by Abraham, or by Adam, in this same valley. It may be noted that it is always a nocturnal or infernal deity to whom this rite attaches. Hermes was the Vedic Saramaya (according to Gubernatis), the watch-dog of night and Hell—the messenger of the gods. Eblis is the Arab satan, and the stone heaps near Horus commemorate the grave of the black slave of Imâm 'Aly. To the old stone deity who swallowed stones, stones were a not inappropriate offering, and the Arabs still place small pieces of basalt, or coloured sandstone, as an offering on their small gate altars.

The *cippus* formed the nucleus round which these stone offerings

collected, and gradually a cairn was formed which covered the original stone.

It is instructive to notice, therefore, the enormous cairns which cover the summits of *Jebel Neba* and *Jebel Attârûs*, both apparently bearing the names of the Assyrian Mercury, while the small stone pillars near the cromlechs, and the heaps of small stones, sometimes surrounding these structures, and sometimes piled beside a road in their vicinity, may perhaps be attributed to the same origin. That they have been artificially collected at the spot there is no doubt, while at the same time it is tolerably certain that they never existed in sufficient numbers to form cairns covering the cromlechs.

A few words may, in conclusion, be said respecting the identification of the three great centres of rude stone monuments south of *Hesbân*, namely, at *el Mashûbiyeh* above *Wâdy Jideid* at *el Mareighât*, and at *Minyeh*, and of that in the *Ghôr* near *Kefrein*. The first, I am inclined to suppose, represents the *Bamoth Baal* of the Old Testament; the second *Baal Peor*; the third, the "top of *Baal Peor* which looketh towards *Jeshimon*;" and the fourth, the sanctuary of *Baal Peor* in the *Jordan* valley, where the Israelites worshipped while in *Shittim*. Excluding the smaller centres belonging to *Heshbon*—which had naturally its own sacred places, there are just four centres in this part of *Moab*, and all four are mentioned in the Bible, which, moreover, does not appear to refer to any more centres of *Baal* worship in this district.

Nebo, *Bamoth Baal*, and the western top of *Peor*, were the three heights whence *Balaam* is related to have looked down on *Israel*. Of these *Nebo* is fortunately fixed by the survival of the names *Neba* and *Sufa* (for *Zophim*); but no satisfactory suggestion seems to have been yet made for the other two sites. *Bamoth Baal* has, indeed, been placed by one writer at *Main*; but this is an unfortunate suggestion, because the ridge west of that place entirely hides out the view even of the *cis-Jordanic* hills, and no view of the *Ghôr* can be obtained until the ridge has been followed westward about five miles. An impossible site has also been suggested for *Baal Peor* in the *Speaker's Commentary* at *Nôûr*, which is much too far north to suit the Biblical description.

The relative position of the three high places can be pretty clearly deduced from a comparison of the various passages in which they are mentioned. *Bamoth Baal* was one of those stations at which the Israelites halted on their way from *Arnon* to the vicinity of *Mount Nebo*. The distance is some twenty miles between these extreme points, and is divided into five marches, averaging only four miles each. This may appear a very short day's journey, but considering that it was an advance in an enemy's country which is described (*Num.* xxi, 13-20), encumbered by flocks and herds, women and children, tents and baggage, it appears a very probable rate of progress. It would have been controlled also by the question of water supply, and practically it represents just about the distance which an Arab tribe of the present day will march in changing their encampments according to the seasons. It may be remarked in

passing, that this rate of progress forms a striking comment on the theory of Dr. Brugsch, which would make the Israelites march no less than *forty* miles in one day when leaving Egypt.

The last but one of the five marches brought the Israelites to Bamoth ("the high place"), which is presumably the Bamoth Baal of the later episode. It is specially described as *Bamoth ha gûa*, "Bamoth of the ravine" (verse 20), and should be placed four or five miles south of the western extremity of the Nebo ridge, "the top of Pisgah which looketh towards Jeshimon." The identification of the remaining stations serves to confirm this conclusion, for, after leaving Arnon, the Israelites are said to have halted successively at Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel ("the valley of God"), Beer ("the well") appears from another passage to have been Dibon (xxxiii, 45), between which and the position of Bamoth Baal there are two principal valleys to be crossed, each containing a fine perennial stream, namely, Wâdy Wâleh, which we may identify with Mattanah, and the Zerka Maîn, which would represent Nahaliel, "the valley of God." The route thus suggested is the main high road from Kerak northwards, which the Israelites only leave when diverting their steps to the main road leading down past Nebo to the plains of Shittim. The route would consequently be as follows:—

HEBREW.		ARABIC.		MILES.		WATER SUPPLY.
Arnon	....	<i>Wâdy Mojib</i>	....	0	....	Stream in valley.
Beer	....	<i>Dhibân</i>	....	3	....	A spring well (see Num. xxi, 18).
Mattanah	....	<i>Wâdy Wâleh</i>	....	4	....	Stream in valley.
Nahaliel	....	<i>W. Zerka Maîn</i>	....	5	....	" "
Bamoth Baal		<i>Wâdy Jideid</i>	...	5	....	" "
Pisgah	....	<i>Siâghah</i>	....	4	....	Springs of 'Ayûn Musa.

The valley by the "high places" (Bamoth) would thus be Wâdy Jideid, which is a great ravine, answering well to the description *Gûa* in the Hebrew.

Baal Peor is not mentioned in connection with this route; it was therefore apparently not on the line of march, and, indeed, it seems clearly to have been further west, because in an enumeration of the towns of Moab, it occurs in the same group with Ashdoth, Pisgah ('Ayûn Mûsa), and Beth Jeshimoth (Sûlimeh in the Jordan valley). It is closely connected with Beth Jeshimoth in other passages, for Israel while approaching the Jordan valley is described as "in the valley over against Beth Peor, (בגיא מול בית פעור) and their camps extended, as we have from another passage (Num. xxxiii, 49), "from Beth Jeshimoth to Abel Shittim," by which latter the later Jewish commentators understand Kefrein to be intended. They spread, in fact, over all the fertile basin of the Ghôr es Seisbân opposite to the corresponding plains of Jericho. Whether the valley over against Beth Peor is the same as that valley in which Moses

was buried, to which the same description (with exactly the same Hebrew words) is applied (Deut. xxxiv, 6), is an interesting question.

In the account of Balaam's visit to Baal Peor there is another indication of importance. From the top of Pisgah he saw only a part of the Israelite encampments (Num. xxiii, 13-14), from Bamoth Baal he also saw only a part of the people (xxii, 41), but from Baal Peor we may infer that since setting his face towards the wilderness (Midbar), he "saw Israel abiding in his tents, according to his tribes," the whole of the encampments were in view (xxiv, 2). This point of view is, moreover, described as the "top of Peor that looketh towards Jeshimon" (xxiii, 28), and Jeshimon we know from the history of David, to have been the desert west of the Dead Sea. The place whence Moses is said to have viewed the Promised Land was "the top of Pisgah, over against Jericho" (Deut. xxxiv), and these careful descriptions appear to give the *latitudes* of the two ridges of Nebo and Peor. This western top of Peor is also called *הַנִּשְׁקָה*, "that which looks out" or "projects" towards (Desenim), which applies well to this prominent spur.

If this strict interpretation of the Biblical expressions be correct, we have the following data for fixing the site of the Peor ridge:—

1. It must extend far enough west to command a view of all the Ghôr es Seisebân, including the vicinity of Sulimeh (Beth Jeshimoth).

2. It must be south of the latitude of the Jericho plains, so as to be east of the Jeshimon or Western desert.

3. It must still be in the vicinity of the springs of Pisgah (Ashdodh Pisgah), and of the valley where Israel encamped when debouching into the Ghôr from the Nebo ridge.

4. It must not be on the line of the Israelite march to Nebo from Arnon.

These requirements are all met by the site of Minyeh, where the seven stone altars occur. It is distant about 7 miles south-west of Nebo, and between the two is the lofty ridge of the Maslûbiyeh, rising immediately above 'Ain Jideid, and distant at its highest summit $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Siâghah, the western end of the Nebo ridge. From Nebo or Siâghah, and from Maslûbiyeh, the greater part of the Ghôr es Seisebân (or plain of Shittim) is seen, but neither commands so extensive a view as does the Minyeh ridge, because the latter pushes out further west, and because a great shelf or lower plateau, which extends from the Dead Sea cliff eastwards to the foot of the higher ridges, hides out the vicinity of Beth Jeshimoth ('Ain Sulimeh) from the northern points of view. At Minyeh the traveller looks over this shelf, and the green patch surrounding 'Ain Sûlimeh is clearly seen. From Siâghah or Nebo, and from Maslûbiyeh, therefore, only part of the Israelite host would be seen, while from Minyeh the whole host would be descried.

We are thus able by arguments quite independent of each other, to indicate the probable position of Nebo (where the name is preserved) of Bamoth Baal (the halting place immediately south of Nebo) and of Baal

Peor (from its latitude and its view), on the three successive ridges which may be seen running out one beyond the other on the south and south-east as one stands in the Ghôr at Kefrein, namely, those spurs which are now known as Siâghah or Neba, Maslûbiyeh, and Minyeh.

As regards the modern names, Siâghah is identical with Seath, which the Targum of Onkelos substitutes for Nebo. Maslûbiyeh is a name probably of Christian origin, but the name Jideid applying to the valley on the north may indicate an old title, Baal Gad, applying to this high ridge. Minyeh we have seen to be derived from Meni, the name of a goddess, whose symbol was the Asherah, or grove, who was the proper couple of Baal-Peor, and was also connected in another aspect (that of "fortune" as contrasted with that of "desire") with Baal Gad. It is possible, also, that the specification of a particular *Rosh* or "top" in connection with Peor and with Nebo, may be due to the existence of two sites on either ridge which might be confused. Thus the top of Pisgah whence Moses viewed the land "over against Jericho" is distinct, as many writers have pointed out, from the actual summit of Nebo to the east, and is to be placed at Siâghah. In the same way we may take the "top of Peor over against Jeshimon" as distinct from Beth Peor itself, and we find, as has been pointed out earlier, two sites on this ridge, one at Minyeh, and the second further east, at the curious sacred place of el Mareighât, which was probably not visited by Balak for the simple reason that it has no view over the Jordan valley.

As regards the valley "over against Beth Peor" where Moses was buried, the Targum of Onkelos believed it to be near Seath or Siâghah, and these two indications, together with that given by the fact that the Israelites encamped in this ravine when marching towards the plains of Shittim, may perhaps be best reconciled by supposing Wady Jideid to be intended.

There appears to be a reason, moreover, why three places should have been successively visited by Balaam. The Canaanite mythology seems, like that of Phœnicia or Egypt, Assyria or India, to have recognized a triad of divinities, one the representative of Chronos or Ouranos, an ancient and wrathful deity (Moloch, Milcorn or Chemosh, Anu, Elium, Brahma), appeased by human sacrifice and worshipped at cairns of stone; the second female (Astareth or Asherah, Ea, Istar, Astarte or Vishnu), whose shrines were circles with stones of cubical form; the third a younger deity, often identified with the Sun (Peor, Tammuz, Adonis, or Siva), to whom the menhir or *cippus* was specially consecrated. The shrine of each of these was visited in turn, Nebo being consecrated to Moloch, Bamoth Baal to Baal Gad or Baal Peor, and Minyeh on the western top of Peor to Ashtareth or Meni. At each of these places the seven planetary deities who, in the Chaldean system grouped beneath the great triad, were invoked, and at each place probably the form of altar or of idol would differ.

It cannot but be considered very striking, that the three sites thus indicated as representing the three high places of Balak and Balaam, should

prove to be the very places where stone altars, dolmens, and menhirs are now found. If the dolmens were altars, it is evident that the Moabites must have had the custom which we know to have prevailed among the Israelites in Saul's time, of building a fresh altar on every occasion of a great sacrifice on the spot, just as Balak built his altars at command of Balaam.

If some of these monuments must be regarded as tombs (although it seems impossible that all of the table stone structures can have had this purpose), it seems that the great men of the tribes must have been buried at sacred centres, just as the modern Arab graves are gathered round some venerated shrine, and that the table stones served as altars on which sacrifices to the Manes were offered, just as the modern altar gate serves for offerings at the modern Arab grave of a holy man. It is impossible to point out, perhaps, the very altars erected at the three "high places" by Balak among the countless monuments which are to be found at these places, but there appears good evidence to show that it is to rude stone monuments of this kind, and at these sites, that the Biblical narrative refers.

A few words must finally be devoted to the remaining group of rude stone monuments in the plains of Shittim. These also seem to be mentioned in the Bible. When Israel abode in Shittim they were tempted by the daughters of Moab to worship the Moabite gods (Num. xxv, 1-3). Baal Peor is explicitly mentioned, and the clear reference to the *hierodoulai* (Kodeshoth), who were specially consecrated in Phœnicia, in Assyria, and even among the earliest Accadians or Chaldeans to the goddess Ishtar, makes it evident that Asherah or Meni was one of the idols whom they were induced to worship.

We can, however, hardly imagine that they returned to the shrines of Peor or Meni on the mountain tops, and seek rather for some high place close to the plains of Shittim. This we find in the rude stone monuments which cover the lower spurs between Wâdy Kefrein and Wâdy Hesbân, where among the dolmens we have discovered a circle with a cubical stone altar such as was dedicated to Meni, and at least one, if not more, of the *cippi* which symbolized Peor.

Leaving these considerations for the judgment of the readers of this report, I will in conclusion only urge that there appears to be enough evidence to make this question of more than mere antiquarian interest.

In a future report I shall endeavour to collect and explain the numerous traditions and tales which we found current among the Arabs of Moab, with the origin and affinities of their tribe marks and of some of their customs.

I have also to give an account of our discoveries at 'Ammân and 'Arâk el Emîr, and of the results of two long visits paid to the Siloam tunnel since our return west of Jordan.

C. R. C.

XI.

ON SOME ARAB FOLK-LORE TALES.

JERUSALEM, 10th *January*, 1882.

AMONG the objects included in the original prospectus of the Fund, was the collection of native traditions in Palestine, together with the manners and customs of the peasantry. This was a subject to which Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake gave constant attention, and concerning which M. Clermont Ganneau has given many valuable indications. An attempt to give a general sketch of the subject is made in the last chapters of "*Tent Work in Palestine*," and in some of the special papers published in the *Memoirs of the Western Survey*. We were, however, always somewhat disappointed at the scarcity of traditions which we were able to collect, and at the uninteresting character of those related by the Fellahin. This may be due in part to the unwillingness of the peasantry to repeat stories which most of the Franks in the country treat with ridicule, or to the fact that the knowledge of such legends is confined to a few old men and women, and is gradually dying out; but the results of careful inquiry during the present year have convinced me that the main reason is that myths, legends, and folk-lore tales are not widely spread or popular among the Fellahin, and I hope to be able in the present report to show the reasons of this deficiency.

As soon as the 'Adwân and other Arabs east of Jordan, among whom we have been living for three months, became aware that we were interested in their traditions, and received their stories without laughing at them, they became very communicative, and related various tales to be mentioned immediately; but during the spring I attempted, by the same treatment, to induce the Fellahin to relate legends of their sacred places with signal want of success, for although the Sheiks and others thus interrogated were very well disposed, they seemed unable to give any more information than is found in the bare names of places such as "*Noah's ark*," "*Samson's tomb*," &c., while some stories which have been supposed genuine native myths turn out, on careful examination, to have been originally related to the peasantry by educated Christians, forming quite modern perversions of the Biblical narrative.

The first story related by the 'Adwân is connected with the spring called 'Ain Jideid, on the south side of Mount Nebo. Here in a deep valley surrounded by cromlechs, and with an enormous stone circle on the cliff above, is a clear brook flowing out from beneath a group of great boulders. Close to the source is a lintel stone with a Greek cross, perhaps brought down from the neighbouring church at the ruin of Siâghah. On a rock a little to the north is a rude Arabic inscription. The legend relates that a young beauty named Ghareisch ("*palm*") loved a young man named Zeid ("*increase*"), who belonged to a tribe of

local Arabs which was in hereditary feud with her own. At the spring of 'Ain Jidead they used to meet, and here she arranged to fly with her lover, whom she concealed in a box placed on a camel. His relations, however, became suspicious, owing to some peculiarity or movement (I could not quite understand which) of the box, and on opening it and finding the concealed youth, they became furious and killed both the lovers on the spot; Ghareiseh before her death, however, managed to scrawl on the rock the existing writing (which the Arabs cannot read, and which appears only to be a rough enumeration of proper names barely legible in a few parts) while, as she fell her hand rested on the lintel stone, and imprinted on its hard surface the well-cut cross and circle which to the sceptic appear to have been the work of a Byzantine mason.*

The impression of the hand on rock is an idea commonly found in Palestine, and not less in India: in the finger print of Gabriel on the sacred rock at Jerusalem, among Moslems, not less than in those sacred footprints in Jerusalem, and the numerous prints of hands, heads, and bodies, which are shown by the Latin monks at Nazareth or 'Ain Kârim.

The footprint of the Prophet on the Sakhrah is known to have been shown in the 12th century as that of Christ, but the idea is not exclusively Christian (or rather Monkish), for without considering the foot of Buddha in India, we have a sacred footprint in the mosque at Baalbek, and another in Moab, which has been previously noted by Colonel Warren.

This latter example can hardly owe its origin to the monks, and is of peculiar interest, occurring beside the main road from Heshbon to Kerak, not far from Nebo. It is not surrounded or covered by any buildings, and its position is only marked by two small piles of stones, one on each side. The flat piece of rock in which it is found gets constantly covered with earth, and it is considered a pious duty to brush away the dust and clean the print whenever passing the spot. The print is a natural erosion of the rock surface, measuring 20 inches long, and beside it on the stone is a smaller artificial replica, carved by the Arabs, though with what object we could not ascertain. The print is supposed to have been made by a prophetess known as the *Turkomanîgeh* or Turkoman woman, when she mounted her camel at this place on her journey to Mecca.

* In this story there are several points which will interest mythologists. The lovers of two contending families remind us of Romeo and Juliet, whose history under an eastern garb is said to exist also in Western Palestine. The young man slain in the box has striking points of resemblance to Osiris cut in pieces in his coffin, and to many other solar heroes in arks, chests, and coffins. The lovers flying together resemble the pair (Phrixos and Helle) who fly on the ram or bull from the enemy, the tyrant or the monster, by whom they are persecuted—a story spread all over Asia, and found among the Slavs and the Caimucs in Russia.

I am informed that this prophetess is a well-known legendary character, but we have never heard of her before or since, and I was unable to discover her name, though one Arab appeared to believe that it was Rahil or Rachel.

The earliest possessor of a sacred foot appears to have been Vishnu (the Indian Neptune), of whom Buddha was the final incarnation according to the Brahmins, and of whom, according to some mythologists, the Pope is the Western representative—still distinguished by a sacred foot. Footprints are, however, constantly connected with female saints, Vishnu himself being essentially a feminine deity.

On proceeding southwards to Ain Minyeh, we made the acquaintance of Abu Wundi, chief of the 'Awāzim Arabs, a most jovial elder, who appeared to delight in relating long legends of the vicinity. Two stories of great importance were told to me by him, and I afterwards collected them more precisely from others. The first relates to the famous Aly Ibn Abu Taleb, the "lion of God," the son-in-law of the Prophet, and his true successor according to the Shī'ah or Persian sect of Moslems.

Aly, it appears, travelling westwards, was overcome with thirst as he stood on the edge of the descent to the Ghôr (or on the "top of Peor") at the place called Minyeh. He cried to God, and was instructed to strike the ground with his spear, when a fountain at once welled up, and has since been called 'Ain Minyeh, "the fountain of desire."

It may be remarked, in passing, that this legend is common in Syria, and a variation is found among the Samaritans, who relate that the "fountain of the Arron" sprang up at the point where Shobek king of the Canaanites was transfixed by Nabi the king of the two and a half tribes, when he crossed Jordan to assist Joshua, shut up in the iron walls of the city of Keimûn by the giant enchanters.

Immediately below 'Ain Minyeh is the great basaltic outbreak of Hammet Minyeh, a black mound strewn with boulders, and believed to mark the site of the city of Antaron, one of the most famous of the Arab legendary heroes, who had also a house in the corresponding desert west of the Dead Sea. Antar was a black man (as were also the great heroes Zir and Abu Zeid), and therefore naturally inhabited a black city on a black hill. The epic of Antar is well known, and is said to fill forty-five volumes. In Egypt it is recited by the class of public reciters called *'Antarīyeh*. It is said, however, by Lane, Deutch, and others acquainted with the subject, that the poetry of Antar is a tedious and lugubrious repetition of complaints on the absence of the beloved heroine.

The legend related by the 'Awāzim Arabs is probably of independent origin. According to them Aly, refreshed by the waters of the "spring of desire," was instructed by God to present himself as a guest to Antar in his black city. He accordingly rode down on his famous horse Maimûn and, arriving at the mound, called for Antar. Fifteen hundred black men came out from the city, but Aly still asked for Antar. "We are all Antars," they answered, and the perplexed Aly was instructed again to ask for

Antar son of Shadîd ("strong"), whose mother was Zebîbeh ("sea foam," evidently a name of mythical value).

On being received as a guest by the real Antar, he entered his house, and found a woman suspended from a beam of the roof to which she was tied by her eyelashes. Long eyelashes are specially admired among the Arabs, and many of the Adwan beauties, for beauties do really still occur among their women, and may be seen driving the donkeys to the spring with unveiled faces, have remarkably long lashes, though, perhaps, not sufficiently thick to support them, if tied up like the legendary lady.

Aly being naturally somewhat astonished, demanded of Antar who this woman was, and why she was thus punished. Antar stated that she was his mother, who hated all guests that came to the house. At the request of Aly, however, she was untied, when she at once began to revile the Imâm through whose kindness she had been released.

"Tie her up again," said Aly, and this was accordingly done. A story which bears some resemblance to this may be found in Spense's "Fairy Queen," and the character of the witch-woman who reviles the hero is not uncommon in mythology.

Three days Aly remained Antar's honoured guest (according to the Koran law), and then mounting his horse he rode westwards to fight against the infidels. "And it was after this," said the old Sheikh, "that he destroyed the City of Brass."

This concluding remark was also very interesting. The legend of the City of Brass was related to us in 1873 by the Abu Nuseir Arabs of Jericho, and will be found in detail in the second volume of "Tent Work in Palestine." It presents in curious confusion the combination of two episodes of Bible history—the destruction of Jericho and the sun standing still on Gibeon—Aly taking the place of Joshua. Mounted on Maimûn, he rode seven times round the walls of the City of Brass, the site of which is shown at the tamarisk tree which stands on the probable position of Gilgal; the brazen walls were overthrown by Aly's breath, and the sun stood still on the Quarantania mountain, "the ridge of the turning back," until the faithful had destroyed their enemies, and were called to prayer by *Belâl* the Prophet's Muezzin.

The relations which the myth thus completed bears to the Biblical episodes—Aly's fountain having a strong family likeness to the spring of Kadesh, and the wonderful spear to Moses' rod or Joshua's spear—may be accounted for in two ways. In 1873 it appeared probable that the legend was a confused reminiscence of the teaching of the mediæval monks, a view supported by the fact that the mediæval "Mountain of the Temptation," is still called "the place of the ascent of Jesus," by the Arabs of the Jordan valley. It seems, however, less probable that the eastern Arabs should have been influenced by Christian teaching as they came into the Belka with the victorious Oma, driving the Christians before them; and although churches and convents of the Byzantine period exist beyond Jordan, there are no

traces in this district of a **medieval colonization**, such as gave rise to the **numerous monasteries in the Jericho plain**.

It seems, therefore, more probable that the legends founded on Old Testament episodes were brought by the Arabs from Arabia, and were there originally imparted by the Jews. It is well known how strong was Jewish influence in Arabia at the time of the rise of Islam, and how much of the Prophet's teaching at one period was founded on Judaism. Even Christian incidents might in the same way be transferred into Arab legends, considering how much of the Koran is occupied by legends based on Gnostic Christianity. The Arabs, aware that the plains of Jericho were the scene of Joshua's miraculous exploits, naturally placed the City of Brass near the Jewish Jericho, and as naturally transferred the credit of such miracles to their great hero Aly. The magic fountain of Minyeh is but the spring of Kadesh transferred from the western to the eastern desert, and Joshua and Moses are thus rolled into one in the person of the great Imâm. There are, however, circumstances in the legend which appear to have another origin, and to belong to Persian mythology, as will be noted later.

The second story related to us at Minyeh is well known throughout Syria, and is of peculiar interest. The Sheikh told us that there was a plot of ground near M'ain called *Hâna wa Bâna*, and taking its name from the two wives of an ancient Sheikh. Hâna was young, Bâna was old. Hâna consequently carefully pulled out every white hair from her husband's beard, while Bâna assiduously eradicated all the black hairs. The Sheikh, therefore, in the end had no beard at all, one of the greatest disgraces which can befall an Arab elder.

The conduct of these ladies has given rise to a proverb which appears to be well known in the Lebanon—

Bein Hâna Wa Bâna
Râh Lahâna

which means "between Hâna and Bâna our beard has gone," and is equivalent to "falling to the ground between two stools," or to the old idea of the redding strake—the blow received by the man who tries to reconcile those who contend together, and which is worse than any blow which they deal each other.

The reader will at once recognize in Hâna and Bâna the two wives of Æsop's fables, and it is, perhaps, at first sight astonishing to find this familiar story among the Arabs. Every one, however, knows that much which used to be supposed original in the Greek fables has a far older origin, and that the very stories of Æsop are to be found in the Buddhist Jataka tales of previous incarnations—the doings of animals with morals attached. It may be that the story in question is derived from Lokman, the Arab Æsop mentioned in the Koran, but there is also reason to suppose that the story (before its moral was attached) was a sun myth of great antiquity. The sun is very often provided with two wives, who contend for him, as Venus and Persephone for the possession of Adonis, and the sun's hair is one of his best known attributes. In Egypt

and Phœnicia this legend was no less known than in Greece, and probably it was widely spread over Asia. A moral has been tacked to the myth, and as such it comes down to us among the Arabs of the Belka, and among the Maronites of Lebanon.

Another curious legend belongs to the 'Ammân district, where is found an isolated hill called Dhaler Hâmar with a single bush on the top. As the name might mean either "red ridge" or "donkey's back," and as the hill is reddish in colour, I asked the Arabs why it was called so. The immediate answer was, "Oh, that was the donkey's back on which the faithful were saved at the flood (Tufân), it is the only mountain in the world which was not covered by the waters." This legend, if I remember right, was also in existence among the Phœnicians.

Two other stories of minor interest are attached to the hot-springs of the Zerka Main and to the spring of 'Ain Fadeily respectively. The first relates how Solomon's slave discovered these springs, as is mentioned by Canon Tristram; the second is to the effect that Belkis or Zenobia had a paradise at the spring. We were not, however, able to obtain further details on this point.

Another mythical story of great interest is that of the famous hero Zîr, whom we had occasionally heard of west of Jordan. The curious pits in the Ghôr, mentioned by Mr. Selah Merrill and other writers, are supposed by the Arabs to have been constructed when Zîr was fighting the infidels, as ambush places where the hero and his companions could wait, mounted on their horses but quite unseen, to rush out on the unwary. There are similar pits, with the same legend of Zîr, at Fasâil west of the river. Near Nazareth is the house and racecourse of Zîr, and here (as also in Wâdy es Sunt) there is a story that the acacia trees which still exist sprang from the tent pegs of Zîr's encampment. Zîr was of the Bein Helâl ("Sons of the Crescent"), and his brother was Jerro ("the whelp"). A long legend concerning this hero was related by our Maronite servants, and appears to be commonly known, though not often heard in its entirety.

Zîr was black like the other heroes of the Arabs, and in his youth he was despised as being foolish and lazy, because when his brother was slain he waited a long time and slept, instead of instantly going to avenge him. He was also an enormous drinker, and insatiably hungry. He swallowed great skins of wine, and remained sleeping in the black tents. His enemies, who seem to have been his brothers or other relations, finally cut him in many pieces and packed his body in a chest, which was borne by the waves to Beirût, and there cast on shore. The fishermen who found it imagined they had discovered a great treasure, and as they quarrelled over it they were brought before Hakmûn, the Jew, who was king of the country. The chest was then opened, and Zîr's body covered with wounds was found inside. He was, however, not dead, but recovered and became a groom in the stable of Hakmûn, who was then at war with the infidels. Left at home while Hakmûn was at war, he was seen by the king's daughter sitting on a wall, brandishing a pole, and spurring the stones as though the wall were a charger, until the blood ran down from his heels. This happened

three times, until finally the princess communicated the stable-boy's strange behaviour to her father, and Hakmûn asked Zîr what it meant. Zîr, who was still supposed to be a half-witted slave, asked to be allowed to go out to battle, and Hakmûn being (as his name seems to indicate) a wise man, told Zîr to choose a horse.

When, however, he began to try the horses, not one was found which could support the hero's weight, until the heroic horse (who in such tales forms a most important feature) was discovered, when the hero went forth to battle as if drunk with wine, and slew on his right hand and on his left all the infidels who came near him.

When the warriors returned to feast at the Palace of Hakmûn in the evening they each began to boast of the numbers they had slain, and asked Zîr what spoils he had to show. He led them out to a certain rock, and bade them lift it up—which they were unable to do. The hero then pushing away the rock showed them a hundred bridles of horses whose riders he had slain, and a hundred tongues torn from the riders' mouths. After this he was held in high esteem, and no doubt married the princess.

The interest of this story lies in its well marked mythical character. The younger brother who is despised and supposed foolish, but who eats and drinks more than any other man, and slowly gains strength, is a very well known member of the mythical family. He is supposed to be the sun in the third period (being generally third brother), when nature during winter prepares for the spring; and the incident of his delaying to revenge his brother recalls that of the Persian Khai Khosru, who bewails his brother Firûd a whole night before avenging him in the morning—belonging to a tale of acknowledged mythical meaning. The story of the chest carried by the waves to Beirût is a most interesting detail, recalling at once the coffin of Osiris carried from Egypt to Byblôs—not far from Beyrouth, and thence to the palace of the Phœnician king. The sun in Aryan mythology constantly appears during his period of misfortune as a groom, or a cow-herd, and the heroic horse especially in Persian and Vedic myths is one of the great attributes of the solar hero, and his companion in all his adventures.

It is very remarkable that the Arab heroes are always black—a colour not at first sight very appropriate for a sun god. Yet the same peculiarity applies to Khrishna the Indian Apollo, and to the old Chaldean sun god of spring, and it has been supposed to arise from the fact that these myths trace back to the old dark Cushite and Dravidian races, who preceded the Aryans in Eastern Asia.

Among the stories which are related by the romance readers of Egypt, and of which an outline is given by Lane, there are many which seem, like the above legend, to be of mythical origin. Thus the hero who is born with distorted limbs is probably connected with the Egyptian Horus. Abu Zeid, the famous black champion, also called el Barakât, was another of the Beni Hilâl, and his great feast on the round stone in the Jordan

valley has been mentioned in the preceding report. Gundubah, "the locust," born of Rebâb, and having Hâris for his father, is another of the same family. His mother's dream that she brought forth a flame of fire is a myth which occurs in the classics, and the name Hâris is probably only one of the Hebrew names of the sun.

The name Zîr signifies apparently "love," but another origin may be suspected. Osiris is the Aryan Asura, "lord," and ez Zîr is sufficiently near to Osiris to make it possibly a corruption of the Sanskrit, derived either from Egypt or from the East. The legend of Zîr and that of Osiris have so much in common—the former being apparently imported from Cairo by the Syrian romance readers, that we may well suspect the Arab tale to be founded, like the Arab name, on the ancient Egyptian myth of the sun's periodical death.

The question which appeared at first puzzling seems thus to be easily solved, namely, why so many mythical tales are found among the Bedawin and so few among the Fellahin. The influence of Persia on the early Arabs is seen in their art, science, and architecture, not less than in their folk lore. The pre-Islamite Arabs were famous for their delight in poetry and romance, and in Persia they found a very rich mythology long since developed. In my next report I hope to give a few indications of the influence of Persian ideas on the early Arab architecture, concerning which we have made some interesting observations during our recent campaign, meantime a few notes may be added on the Arab tribe marks—which present features pointing to the same conclusion.

The *Wasûm* or tribe marks are found on camels, cows, and sheep, and are placed also on buildings where the Bedawin suppose treasure to be concealed. They have even been mistaken for inscriptions in a new character, and this is mistake very naturally to be made, because many of the signs are identical with Himyaritic characters.

It is curious, however, to remark that these signs are in many cases identical with those used by the Crusading masons in the churches of Palestine, and again with the same masons' marks found in the English and Scotch cathedrals of the 13th century. The same signs are also found on the walls of Sassanian buildings in Persia, in the sixth century, and again they can be traced back to the Indian cast marks, which have a well known symbolic meaning. This is a question which has engaged my attention for ten years, but it is not possible to work it out very much in detail in the present report. A few of the principal coincidences may, however, be noted.

The tribe mark is generally simple in character, and is modified by a *difference* (to use a heraldic term) for each sub-division of the tribe.

Thus the Adwan tribe mark is a single stroke called the *Mattuk*, but the Nimr division use two strokes, and the 'Abblâd three. The Sakhûr have a stroke with a circle at the top called the *Mihmasa*, or "coffee-spoon," and the Faiz division of the tribe have two marks on one side of the top stroke, giving it the appearance of a key. This modified form is called the

Tauwikeh, or "little necklace," and is cut on the tomb of the famous *Fendi el Faiz* in the Jordan valley.

Both the Mutluk and the Mihma-a appear to have been originally Himyaritic letters, the last being the *Koph* which the Himyaritic *Slim*, 'Ain, Kheth, and Gimel, are also used by other tribes.

A tribe mark occurs on the tombs at 'Ammân and on ruins of Masada, which is of great interest in this connection. It is noticed in the memoir notes, and is the same as the Egyptian *crux ansata*, the cross with a circle above, approaching very closely to the *Sakhûr* tribe mark. This ancient symbol of life is found not only in the hand of almost every Egyptian deity, but also round the neck of Khrishna, or of the Assyrian monarchs, just as it is still worn by Buddhist maidens in Thibet. A very similar mark is found also among the Sherârat Arabs east of Jordan.

Another mark of great interest is the *Rijl el Gherâb*, or "raven's foot" (crow's foot), a sort of rounded trident, which frequently occurs as a mason's mark in Syrian churches of the 12th century. It is the tribe-mark of the *Jibbûr*, a branch of the *Sakhûr*, and it closely resembles the Himyaritic Cheth. In India it is called the *Trisul*, and is the symbol of fire, and one of the emblems of the god Siva.

It is still uncertain whether the cross is used by the eastern Arabs as a tribe mark. I was informed that the *Jibbûr*, who use the crow's foot as above mentioned, also have a cross for one division of their tribe, but this is uncertain. The cross, as previously noticed in another report, is not held in any disfavour by the Arabs, who seem to place it on some of their tombs.

Other marks not yet found as tribe marks serve to connect the mediæval masons' marks with the Persian signs of the same kind. Thus the double triangle, which is a caste mark in India, and is used in Jerusalem as a sign of good luck to avert the evil eye, also occurs in the Crusading masonry. Although tribe and masons' marks may be chiefly useful to distinguish property, it seems pretty clear that they were originally regarded as talismans, which brought good luck to the buildings or animals on which they were placed; and this probably explains why they occur in such great numbers in places held more or less sacred by the Arabs. The *lunar* is still cut on the doors of Jewish houses with the same intention. It is worthy of notice that while these marks are thus invariably employed by the Arabs, they do not seem to be ever used by the Fellahin, and that they seem in some cases to come to the Bedawin from Persia and India.*

* It seems worthy of notice that two kinds of sticks or wands, of interesting shape, are carried by the Sheikhs and Elders of the Arabs. One form is a short cane with a spiral head like a ram's horn. The other is a stick with a crutch head, which is often laid beside the tomb or placed on the lintel of the surrounding stone circle. Both these forms of sceptre are commonly represented in Egypt, the former in the hands of Osiris, the latter carried by Horus, Anubis,

This digression may perhaps be of interest to those who are engaged in the study of ancient marks and alphabets, but without drawing any deductions, it is sufficient here to remark that the tribe marks, like the legends, serve to distinguish the Arab from the Fellah, and to belong originally perhaps to an Aryan source. Copies of stones covered with these marks are often brought from Moab, and have sometimes been mistaken for inscriptions; but the absence of any kind of arrangement in lines, not less than the marks themselves, proves that they are the work of the shepherds of various tribes who thus employ their idle moments.

The sudden contrast between the absence of folk-lore in Western Palestine, and the abundance of tales on the East, appears from the above considerations to be very natural. Neither the Arab nor the Fellah can properly be called a Moslem, they have each a cultus founded on much older superstitions, and as distinct as are the origins of their races. Among the modern Canaanites of the villages of the west, the old Canaanite worship still flourishes: the sacred stone, the sacred tree, and the holy cave. Only one story of distinctly mythical origin seems yet to have been collected on this side, namely, that of the faithful dog who took the bones of Neby Duhy to a mountain top; but even in this tale, collected during the course of the survey, the scene is laid on the borderland between the peasants and the Sukr Arabs, and it may, perhaps, have originated among the tribe of Akil Agha, when he spread his tents all over the plain of Esdraelon.

On the east of Jordan, on the other hand, we find myths in existence which bear a close resemblance to the tales of Rastem and other Persian heroes, founded on the Aryan mythology, while from their home in the Nejed the Arabs seem to have brought with them confused versions of Bible episodes attributing the exploits to Imâm Aly and other heroes of the Conquest. A search among the romances of Arab literature would no doubt bring to light many tales purely mythical, for even in the Arabian Nights many of the stories are easily recognized as founded on Persian myths of the adventures of the sun.

C. R. C.

XII.

'AMMÂN AND 'ARAK EL EMIR.

JERUSALEM, 16th January, 1882.

I AM at length able to send you detailed reports as to the discoveries of the party at the two important sites above-mentioned. Our camp was pitched at 'Ammân for fifteen days, from the 5th to 20th October, and at 'Arâk el Emir for the six days following. We took measurements of every building in 'Ammân, and made a special survey of the town to the and other male deities. Of the female sceptre with a lotus flower top, we have seen no other specimens.

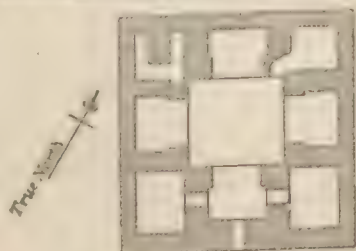
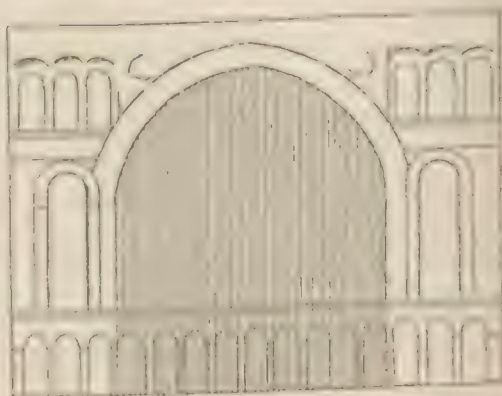
scale of 8 chains to the inch. The plans, in addition to this survey, cover nine plates, and Lieutenant Mantell obtained fifteen successful photographs in the ruins of the city, some of which are likely to prove very valuable. At 'Arāk el Emīr we made plans of the Palace of Hyrcanus, with sketches of detail; and Lieutenant Mantell took measurements of all the cave chambers and cisterns, and three good photographs, one of which, just sent home, shows the Aramaic inscription in front of the chief cave, and is a specially successful plate.

The most important point amid these various labours is the examination of a small building on the top of the citadel hill at 'Ammān. It has been visited and described by Consul Finn, Colonel Warren, and Canon Tristram, but as none of these explorers were able to remain very long at this site, it has not as yet been fully described. It has generally been supposed to be of Byzantine origin, and has been variously described as a church and a mosque. An inspection of the enclosed plan and details will, however perhaps serve to show that the building is equally unlike either the Byzantine churches, or the Arab mosques of Palestine, and that it has, indeed, an unique character, and is well worth minute study.

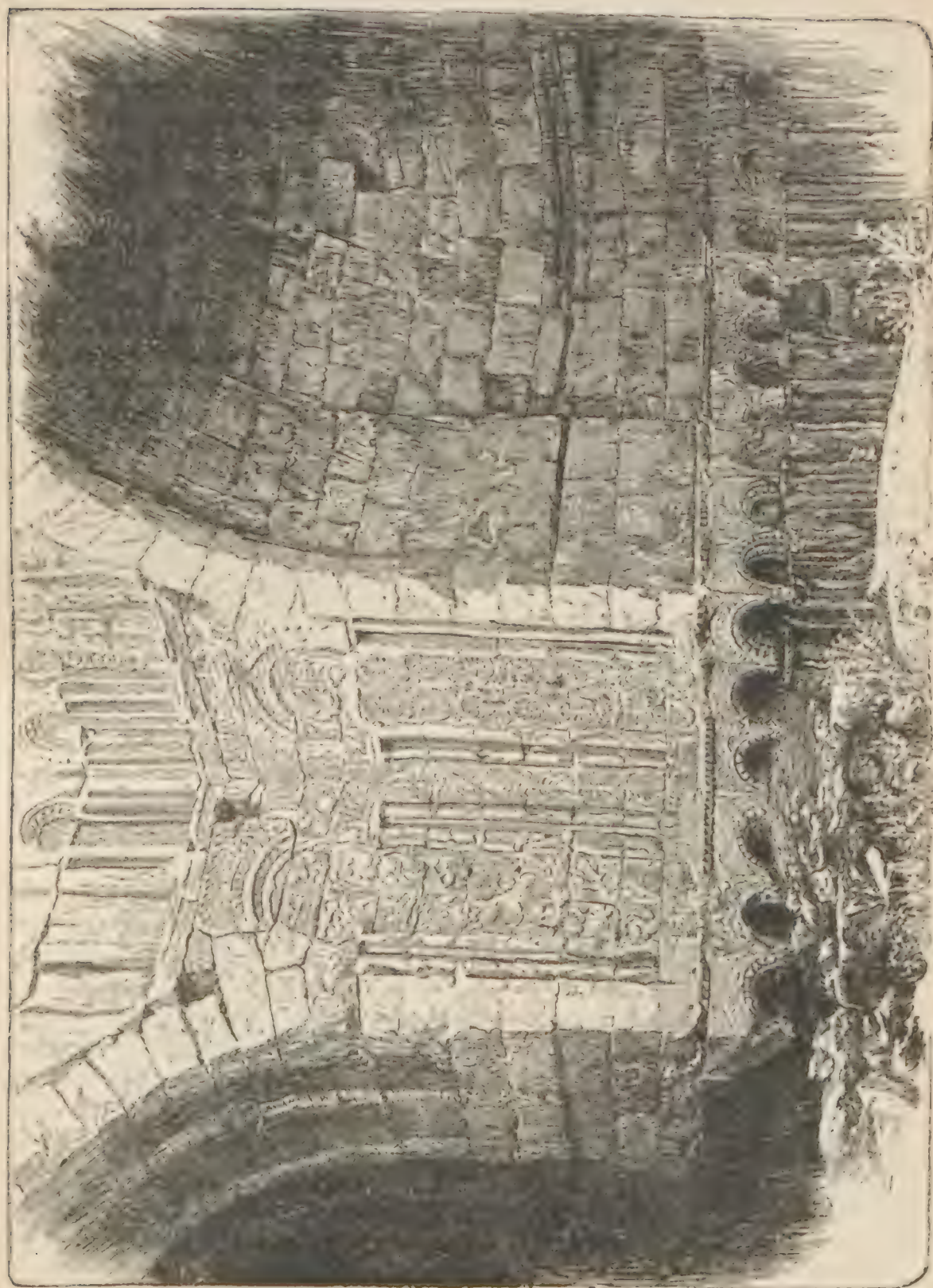
The building stands in the middle of a courtyard of the Temple, and is irregularly built, so that the west side measures 85 feet, the east 81, the south 80. It has a central open court 33 feet square, from which arched recesses open back, each measuring about 18 feet square. In the four corners are small vaulted chambers, and in the north-west angle are remains of a staircase which appears to have led up from the outside to the roof.

It does not seem that the central court was ever roofed over. The entrance to the building is from the south, and seems to be of the same date with the main part of the buildings, although traces of reconstruction may, perhaps, be suspected on the south wall. There was another entrance on the north, now blocked.

The main feature of the building is, however, the elaborately sculptured ornamentation of the inner walls. The accompanying drawings will serve to show the style of this ornamentation, which, as a whole, is quite unlike any sculpture found in Western Palestine. The designs differ on the different walls, and the sculpture does not seem to have been finished, as some of the panels are left plain; and the tracery on the north wall seems to be incomplete. The sculpture is in low relief on stone of fair consistency, taken from the neighbouring limestone quarries.



Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.



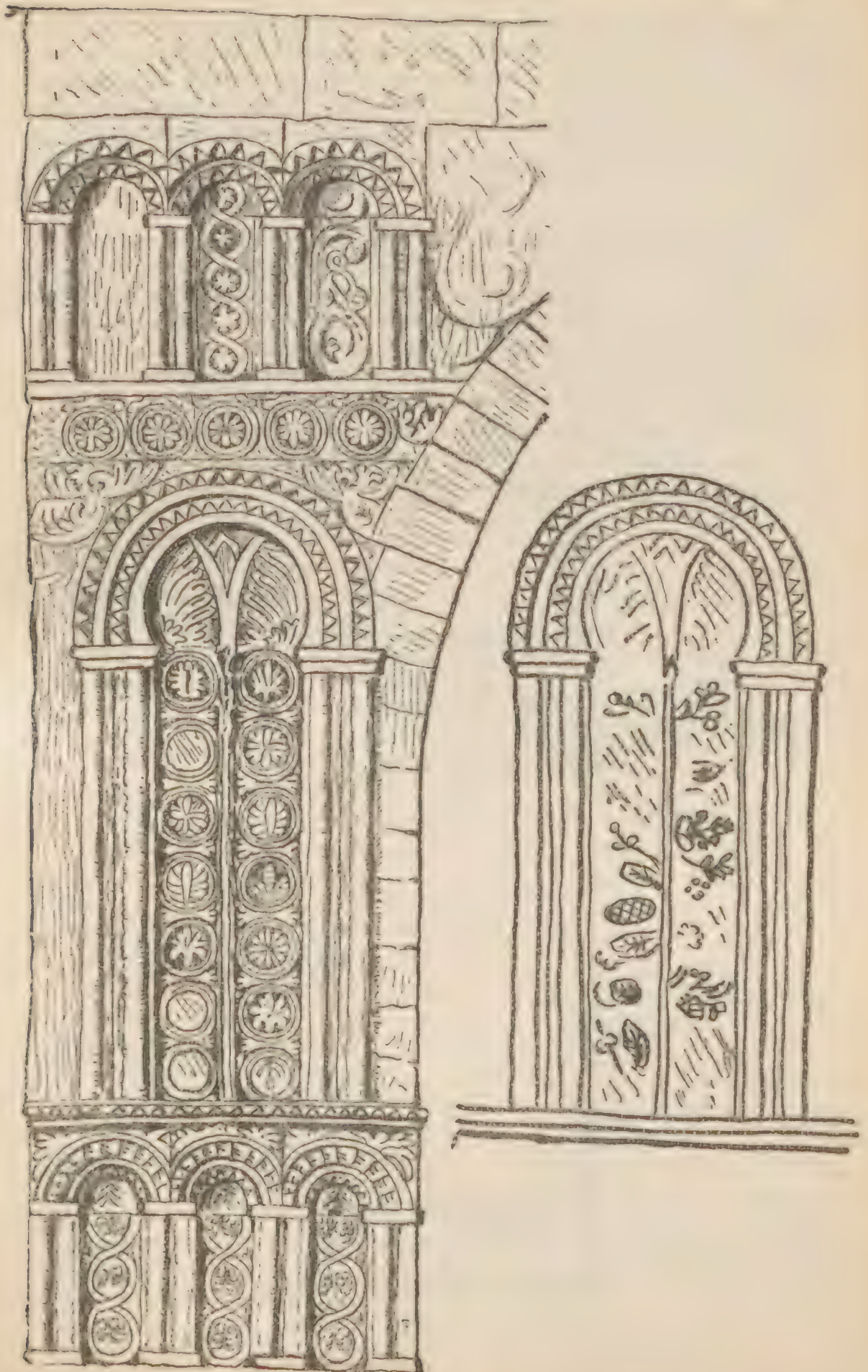
On either side of the bold central arch is a sculptured panel with an arched head, standing on a string course with three smaller arch-headed panels beneath, and three others again above. The bas-reliefs in the larger panels differ in each case, one as shown representing two rows of circles enclosing geometrical designs, while another gives a stiff conventional tree pattern not unlike the sacred conventional tree of Asshur which is found on Assyrian bas-reliefs. There is an entire absence of any figures of birds or animals, and in this respect the sculpture differs from that of the famous Sassanian Palace at Maschita, discovered by Canon Tristram, not far from the present site, although in other respects there is a similarity between the two buildings in detail.

Among the details will be observed a flat dog-tooth moulding, which somewhat resembles the ornament applied by the Crusaders to arches in their early churches of the 12th century,—as, for instance, in the beautiful west window of the Muristân at Jerusalem, of which a photograph was taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E. The vine-bunches which occur in the interior of some of the lower panels are also interesting; similar conventional vine-patterns occur not only on the later Jewish tombs of the period when Greek art influenced the native sculptors, but also in Byzantine tombs and chapels of the 5th and 6th century in Western Palestine.

The most valuable features are, however, the arches and the pilasters of the panels. It is very curious to note that in this small structure, the round arch, the pointed arch, and the Moorish arch all occur together, the two later forms being in an embryonic condition which architects will probably consider very interesting. The great central arches, which form the face of the tunnel-vaults of the four recessed chambers, appear to have a very slight and almost imperceptible point of which the attached photograph will give a fair idea. The shape is, indeed, almost exactly the same as that of the arches supporting the drum in the Jerusalem dome of the rock. It has long been a subject of debate whether the arches in the latter building were round or pointed. Those in the outer arcade, which are covered with ancient glass mosaic, are round, those in the inner arcade under the drum have a very slight and almost imperceptible point, as can be seen in the photograph taken in 1874 at my request by Lieutenant Kitchener, where three arches are shown directly facing the spectator. These arches are now, however, covered with marble casing, so that it is not quite certain whether the structure beneath may not be a round arch; but the new example from 'Ammân serves to throw some light on this question.

The feature of the slender coupled columns with very simple capitals is also worthy of special attention, as will be noticed immediately. The Moorish form of the interior of the arches above the larger panels will be noticed on the elevation.

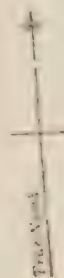
In studying the building under consideration, it is also interesting to compare the ruined mosque at the foot of the hill at 'Ammân, of which a plan is enclosed, with a sketch traced from a damaged photograph. The



sketch shows the north wall of the building, and the minaret. The building measures 183 feet north and south, by 129 feet east and west, and is divided into two parts, the northern being an open court, the southern a rectangular building once covered with a roof supported on arched ribs of ashlar, and having a Mihrab or prayer niche in the south wall. The building is, indeed, a typical mosque properly constructed for Moslem worship, and resembling in plan the fine example of the White Mosque at Ramleh.

The masonry in the two buildings described at 'Ammân is very similar. It is a fairly dressed ashlar of moderate dimensions, none of the stones being drafted. In this respect it differs from many buildings of the later Moslem period (the 14th and 15th centuries), in which a feeble imitation of the bold rustic drafting of the Crusaders is attempted.

The minaret of the 'Ammân mosque is of somewhat stunted proportions. It is nearly perfect, and the winding stair to the Muedhen's balcony is intact. The total height is about 44 feet, and the dome remains, although the outer wall which enclosed it is partially broken. The upper part is octagonal, the balcony supported on stone cantalivers, and probably con-



Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

sisting of a wooden floor with rails, has now disappeared, leaving only the cantalivers. The main part of the tower is 10 feet square outside, lighted by four round-headed windows, partly filled up by marble screens. The entrance is from the east, where is a rudely-cut Arab inscription on the lintel of the door—unfortunately giving no date or other information beyond the usual formula, "No God but God ; Mohammed, the Messenger of God."

The north wall of the mosque has three gates and four windows. All the arches are round, except the central one, which is a flat arch resembling the ordinary form used in brickwork. It is very interesting to observe that two of the entrances have stone lintels under the arches, as will be seen in the sketch. The left-hand or west door has an arch 7 feet 6 inches in span, the lintel stone being 9 feet long. The central door has a lintel 16 feet long under the flat arch, and a second lintel lower down. The stones appear to have been cut for their present purpose.

This feature approaches to the lintel-stones which occur in Byzantine buildings of 5th and 6th centuries, in various parts of Palestine, having relieving arches above them. In the Byzantine examples, however, so far as I have seen, the arch is never more than a flat arc, whereas in the 'Ammân mosque the stone is placed beneath a bold semicircular arch, and appears to have very little structural use. It resembles, in fact, the wooden beams which run from arch to arch in many Arab mosques, both in Palestine and in Egypt. These occur in the mosque of Amru (642 A.D.), and in the Aksa mosque at Jerusalem, as well as in the outer arcade of the Dome of the Rock. We have, however, never found an example of an Arab mosque in Palestine having what may be called "stone beams," as in the present instance at 'Ammân, and should this latter building prove to be an early example of Arab work (as seems not improbable), the transition between the heavier Byzantine lintel and the wooden beam may, perhaps, be traced in the lintels thus described.

It may be hoped that the preceding description, with the accompanying drawings, will enable architects in England to form an opinion on the date and value of these buildings. Meantime I may, perhaps, venture to add a few observations, which suggest themselves after comparing the 'Ammân structures with other buildings.

In his valuable critique on the Palace of Mashita, Mr. Fergusson compares that building with the Sassanian architecture of Persia, instancing the great buildings of Tak Kesra and Taki Gero ; and he also draws attention to the connection between Persian and Byzantine architecture. The elevation of Tak Kesra presents several features of remarkable similarity to the details of the building on the hill at 'Ammân. The great central archway : the walls panelled with arches divided by coupled columns having a simple cap : the use of round, pointed, and stilted arches in one structure, are common to the two buildings, and the inference is natural that the 'Ammân example may prove to be of Sassanian origin—an inference supported by the existence of the Mashita Palace in the same district, since Mr. Fergusson has decided that this latter must be referred to the time of Chosroes II.

There is, however, one great difference remarked between the 'Ammân building and the Mashita palace, namely, that no figures of birds or beasts occur in the former. This suggests that the 'Ammân building may probably be the work of a Moslem people, and thus, perhaps, one of the earliest Arab structures subsequent to the conquest by Omar.

The early Khalifs, including 'Abd el Melek, employed Greek architects in Syria, and Coptic Christians in Egypt, to build their early mosques; but it is not less certain that the influence of Persian art was strongly felt by the half-civilized Arabs. The historian Ibn Khaldûn, as quoted by Lane, writes thus: "When they ceased to observe the strict precepts of their religion, and the disposition for dominion and luxurious living overcame them, the Arabs employed the Persian nation to serve them, and acquired from them the arts and architecture, and then they made lofty buildings." Mr. Poole has, moreover, pointed out, in commenting on this passage, that probably the Persian influence had affected the Greeks of the Eastern Empire before it reached the Arabs, and that some of the peculiarities of Byzantine art may, perhaps, be best explained by comparison with Sassanian buildings.

If the conclusion be considered correct that the building on the hill at 'Ammân is an early specimen of Moslem work under Sassanian influence, the comparison with the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem is instructive and interesting.

In addition to the peculiarities of the arches common to the two buildings, it may be noted that at Jerusalem in the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, we have the same feature of large round-headed panels (pierced in some instances with windows) having above them a second tier of smaller panels, with simple coupled columns between. Probably also some resemblance may be recognized between the details of the ornamentation, as, for instance, the conventional vine-pattern which occurs also (in bronze) on the wooden architrave which spans the round arches of the arcade in the Dome of the Rock.

The Dome of the Rock, which, according to the ancient Cufic inscription in the interior, was built by Moslems in 688 A.D., is a building recognized as presenting features of very Byzantine appearance. The comparison with the Moslem building at 'Ammân may, perhaps, be considered to throw some light on the explanation which may finally be expected of the peculiarities of its architecture.

There are, unfortunately, no traces of any inscription on either the mosque or the upper building at 'Ammân, beyond a rudely carved religious formula above noticed, which seems to have been cut at a late period by an unskilled hand.

It should be noted, finally, that the Moorish arch (a segment of a circle greater than half) not only occurs in the upper building, but seems also to have been used in the arched ribs supporting the mosque roof. The arches have fallen, but the haunch stones in some cases remain, and are corbelled out so as to present a reverse curve, which is rather ornamental than really structural.

It is to be hoped that the notes thus given may assist architects to form a more definite and instructive conclusion as to the date and value of the buildings in question than I am capable of reaching. Leaving the question for the present, I will briefly enumerate the chief observations of interest which we made in other parts of 'Ammân.

The pre-historic monuments of the vicinity have been noticed in another report. They include half a dozen cromlechs, one of which, with a table-stone measuring 13 feet by 11 feet, is perhaps the finest example which we have yet discovered. There are also two very large menhirs on the north-east, one 12 feet by 6½ feet, the second 9 feet by 8 feet, and 1½ feet thick, the latter still standing erect.

As regards ancient Hebrew or Ammonite remains, we found as usual little which could be ascribed to that period, whereas Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, and Circassians have each in turn left indications of their presence. We were fortunate, however, in discovering a number of ancient tombs, which, so far as I have been able to find out, have not been noticed by former travellers. On the south slope of the hill, west of the ruins, are about fifteen caves very rudely cut in soft rock, a chalk stratum between two layers of flint having been chosen as easy to excavate and presenting an impervious roof and floor. In nearly all these caves we found *kokim* (pigeon-hole loculi) rudely cut, as in the Jewish and Phœnician tombs, and this was the more remarkable as such tombs are extremely rare in that part of Moab at present surveyed.

There are also a great many caves north of the citadel, which may have been either tombs or early Horite habitations. I examined all those which were accessible, but they line the cliffs for more than a mile, sometimes in positions not easily reached. In most cases the chamber within was a mere cave, but one group near the citadel presents *kokim* tombs like those in the western cemetery. The impression conveyed by the rude character of the tombs is that of a very rude condition of civilization among the Ammonites, as compared with the Jews or the Phœnicians.

As regards the citadel itself, of which we have now a good plan and description, we found nothing to indicate that its buildings are of great antiquity. The masonry is not of great size, and it resembles the early Christian work of Western Palestine in dressing and in proportions. It may, perhaps, be as old as the temple, which appears to belong to the later Roman period. The remains of the peristyle show that this building must have been of large size. Its pillars are 5½ feet in diameter, and the breadth of the peristyle is 52 feet. Only the foundation and bases remain *in situ*, and it is possible that the building was never finished, as no traces of the main body of the temple now exist. There are several fragments of very large epistylia, and these have Greek letters upon them showing that an inscription in two lines once ran along the face of the temple. The letters were copied, but no consecutive reading seems possible. It is remarkable that many of the pillar shafts have the following inscription cut on the flat surfaces.

ΔΩCΕΘC

The letters could, of course, not have been visible when the pillar was standing, and they were perhaps intended as a talisman. In the church at Ascalon I found, in 1875, shafts which seemed to have been taken from an older building, and which had Phœnician letters cut on the flat surfaces in the same manner. These are mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Western Survey*.

The temple stood in a great court which had an entrance from the east. On the north and north-east are remains of alcoves, with sculptured canopies and scollop shell roofs, resembling the Baalbek courtyard on a smaller scale. It seems probable that the Kalah at 'Ammân, with its temple, may be ascribed to the same period as the Baalbek Temple, about the time of Antoninus Pius, in the third century of our era.

The cemetery of the Roman period was principally confined to the southern hill, although a few fine structural tombs occur on the west, north, and north-east. We visited and examined every tomb of which we could find any traces, and have obtained plans and photographs of all that admitted of measurement. The rich settlers seem to have been fond of constructing elaborate family sepulchres, in the form of square towers profusely ornamented with Corinthian pillars, sculptured cornices, and carved domes. We found six fine examples of this kind of tomb in the vicinity, all containing sarcophagi placed on benches round the walls, sometimes in two tiers. Some of the photographs of these buildings have been sent home.

A very effective but economical monument was in other cases formed by placing a rock-cut sarcophagus on a conspicuous spur of rock, sometimes rudely scarped. Specimens of this kind of sepulchre also occur in Western Palestine. In other cases the sarcophagi were placed in caves or rock tombs. Generally they are plain or with simple mouldings, but one with a fragment of Greek inscription was found, and in another case two sarcophagi in one cave had carved lids, one with a vine pattern, the other with two rude lions much defaced.

The theatre, the Odeum and other public buildings of 'Ammân, are already well known. We have now made plans and taken photographs of them all. There is also a large church, and two smaller chapels, a khan apparently of late date, and a bath house with pointed arches. The following inscription is a new discovery. The stone appears to have belonged to the church, but was re-used in a later wall, and a second stone placed over it. One or two letters were seen, and the top stone removed; the mortar which formed the bedding of the top stone was then carefully scraped off, and two squeezes taken of the inscription, which may, perhaps serve to date the church.

ΟΡΙΚΤΩ
 ΝΟΝΑ...ΕΓ
 ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΦΙ
 ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΗΣ
 ΑΥΡΟΥ ΙΚΤΩ.

The inscription consists only of these five lines, and cannot have contained many more letters than those shown. It is unfortunately damaged in the middle. It appears to belong to the Byzantine period, judging by the shape of the letters.

Another inscription was found by Lieutenant Mantell on a Roman milestone east of 'Ammân. Like the milestone on the Nablus road north of Jerusalem, it appears to record merely the names and titles of Roman emperors.

IMP CAES MARCI..
AVRELIUS SEY
ANTONINVS I...
FELIX AVG PI..
VS MAXIMV.....
..TANICUSMR....
..INTMR.....

Finally a remarkable tank occurs at 'Ammân, which appears not to have been previously visited. The mouth is about 50 paces north of a tower in the north wall of the citadel, and is level with the roof of the tank. A very steep descent, with a few rude steps, leads down 20 or 30 feet, and a sort of shoot at the side appears to have conducted the surface water into the reservoir. The length is 90 feet, the breadth 20 feet, with three large recesses. Close to the door a gallery leads away in the side of the tank, and curves round southwards on to a level not far beneath the surface. This gallery I followed for 40 feet, when it was choked and too small to allow me to go further. I believe it to have been possibly a secret passage in the rock, to a subterranean postern in the citadel tower, allowing entrance to the temple court from an unsuspected direction—the interior of the great reservoir.

South of 'Ammân we visited the ruins of *Sâk* and *Kahf*, already described by Colonel Warren. At the latter site, however, I found a second tomb apparently not seen before, with a finely carved façade having two defaced female busts. Of this fine specimen, which is superior to any of the well-known sculptured tombs near Jerusalem, Lieutenant Mantell made a plan, section, and photograph. The sculptured tomb seen by Colonel Warren appears to be of Christian origin, having a cross in the cornice over the entrance. The details of the capitals have a Byzantine character.

On our way to 'Arâk el Emir we visited the curious site called *ed Deir*, which was also seen by one of Colonel Warren's party. It is a rock-cut house in three storeys, with windows cut in imitation of masonry. We made a plan of this excavation, which is perched in a cliff looking out above the oak trees which fill the valley. The walls are full of niches, which seem to have been intended either for urns or skulls. There are about 740 of these niches in the ground storey, and probably an equal number in each of the others; but as the floors have given way I was only

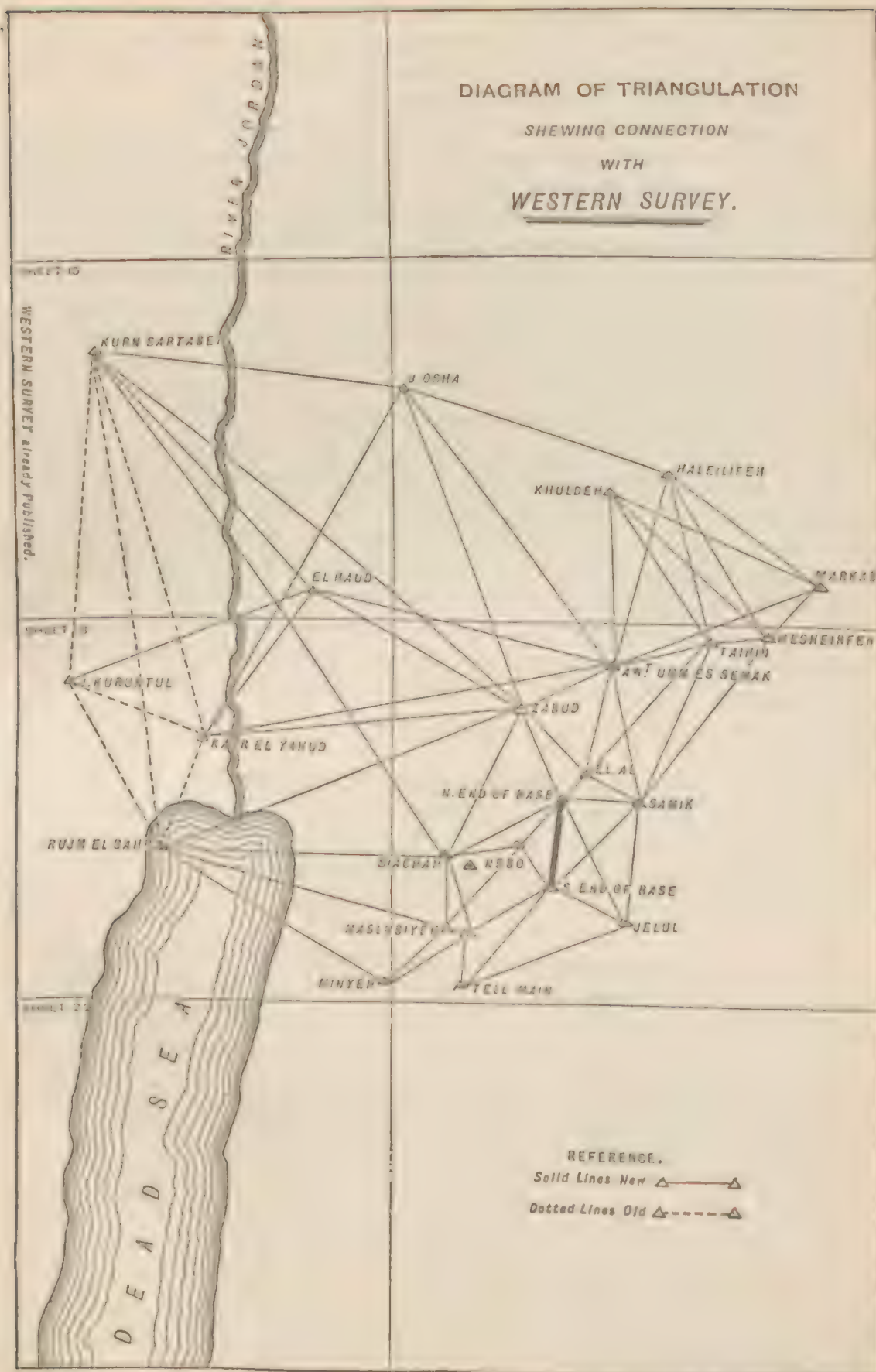
able, by scrambling up a pole, to visit the second story, and could not see the interior of the third. I have had occasion to describe similar niches in Western Palestine, notably at Masada. They are larger than those usually found in Columbaria, and the explanation I then offered, that they were intended for the skulls of the deceased monks, met with acceptance. At Masada they occur in connection with an early Christian chapel, and a cave with a Greek Christian inscription. The names of the rock-house under consideration (*ed Deir*, "the monastery") seems also to indicate a Christian origin for these curious structures. At 'Arâk el Emîr there is a detached rock with rows of niches in one side, but the niches in this latter cave are too small to have contained anything but urns, or perhaps, more probably, lamps. They occur on the *east* side, which would be that most sheltered from the summer winds. It seems not improbable that the face of the cliff might thus have been illuminated by the light of some 26 lamps at the time when Hyrcanus used to feast in its rocky chambers.

The ruins at 'Arâk el Emîr are too well known to need description in a report like the present. The palace built by the priest Hyrcanus is described by Josephus as decorated with sculptured lions, and there seems no good reason for supposing that the ruined building still existing is of older origin than that indicated by the Jewish historian. The peculiar character of the capitals and fragments of cornice is just that mongrel style which, as shown by the rock-tombs near Jerusalem or in the synagogues of Galilee (dating from the second century, A.D.), resulted from the imitation by Jewish architects of Grecian classic art. We took careful measurements and sketches of detail, and it was interesting to note that the lions, four of which remain *in situ* as a frieze, were carved after the great stones had been placed in their present position, as is shown by the projections on the same plane of relief which occur above the animals' bodies.

There is a curious raised causeway leading from the palace of Hyrcanus in the direction of the great cliff, with its double tier of caverns, which is situated about half a mile to the north east. Along this mound occur pairs of *cippi*, about 4 feet high and 2 feet broad, partly sunk in the ground. Each *cippus* is pierced with a hole 7 inches in diameter, in most cases countersunk for about half the thickness of the stone (averaging $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet near the top) as if for a bar or pole passed through or butting inside the stone. The width between the pairs of *cippi* is 3 feet, and this is so small that it seems impossible to accept the general theory that these stones mark the sides of a *Viâ Sacra* or other roadway leading from the festal chambers in the cliff to the palace.

It is noticeable that there is a gradual descent to the palace from the cliff, the foot of the latter, by aneroid measurement, being 170 feet above the platform on which the palace stands. There are 27 pairs of stones along this line, and it seems pretty certain that many others are buried or lost.

The size of the blocks in the palace wall is enormous, the stones being twice the dimensions of those in the Temple walls at Jerusalem. One



was measured as 17 feet long and 8 feet high. A second 20 feet long and 10 feet high, and there are many others as large. It is, however, a peculiar feature of the building that the thickness of the stones is comparatively very small, averaging only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

This consideration led me to suppose that the pierced *cippi* might have belonged to a sort of wooden staging or "ways" intended for moving the great stones. Poles placed in the holes might have formed sleepers on which this staging was constructed, and each stone would thus have been slid down hill to the palace with great ease. It is noticeable that one great stone still lies on the hill close to the causeway, as if abandoned half-way between the quarry and the palace. It should, however, be noted that the existing pairs of *cippi* are never less than 20 paces from one another, which would seem too great a distance to be spanned by such poles as would be attainable in Palestine. Possibly the better explanation would be that they were used for fixing ropes with pulleys, which served to drag the stone along. It is, however, clear that the stones might, by either means, have been easily moved, and that they were narrow enough to pass between the *cippi*. Considering, therefore, how little is yet known of the methods employed in moving the great blocks used by the Roman and late Jewish builders, it seems very interesting to find this stone scaffolding, if the expression may be permitted, still remaining *in situ* at Tyrus.

The curious Aramaic inscription on the cliff is so well shown in Lieutenant Mantell's photograph that it does not seem necessary to send a further representation. It remains, however, to be read, as the interpretations hitherto given appear to be all equally unsatisfactory so far as I have been able to learn.

It should be noticed that the name Tyrus given to this spot by Josephus is probably the Aramaic Tsur or Tsir. There is a ruin called Sûr not far west of 'Arâk el Emir, and the name of the great valley beneath the cliff is Wâdy Sîr: further up the valley are the ruins and spring of Sîreh, and on the edge of the plateau above is the ruined town of Sar.

The three last reports have thus given a *résumé* of the most interesting results of the recent campaign in Moab. The notes and plans which we may hope to form some day into a memoir are more numerous and important than those collected in any equal area west of the river; and the Survey of the East as a whole ought, in my opinion, to form a work more generally interesting, and scarcely less important from a Biblical point of view, than the Western Survey.

C. R. C.

AMMAN.

[Reprinted by permission from the *Builder*.]

THE building at Ammán has also been visited by Canon Tristram and Colonel Warren, the latter of whom was enabled to take a good photograph of it, and to take a general plan of the remains of the city, which plan was published in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1872, p. 66, accompanied by a short description by the Rev. A. E. Northey.

Canon Tristram has also described the building in "The Land of Israel," p. 588. He states that "the interior architecture of the church, if not in the purest taste, is marvellously elaborate. It is faced with 120 small round-topped niches, each shallow, and the panels filled with carvings of endless variety. No two are alike, either in the sculpture of the arch-heads or of the panels. Flowers, leaves, and fruits are the predominant designs, forming quite a pattern-book for Gothic decoration. The upper story is filled with niches of similar plan, but much larger, extending to the roof. Eight panels of leaves and pines, all in different patterns, occupy the faces towards the centre, and many others the limbs of the cross. The whole reminded us somewhat of the ancient church at Athens, though that is much poorer and on a smaller scale. The state of preservation of this building is truly marvellous."

But the curious architectural details were not, unfortunately, drawn by him.

Captain Conder has now supplied these, together with a photograph taken by the second officer in charge, Lieutenant Mantell. The plan externally of the building is, roughly speaking, quadrangular, 85 feet by 80 feet. But internally, it is that of a Greek cross, the centre part being occupied by an open court, 33 feet square, in each side of which is a recess, 18 feet wide, and 18 feet deep, arched over, but open to the court in front.

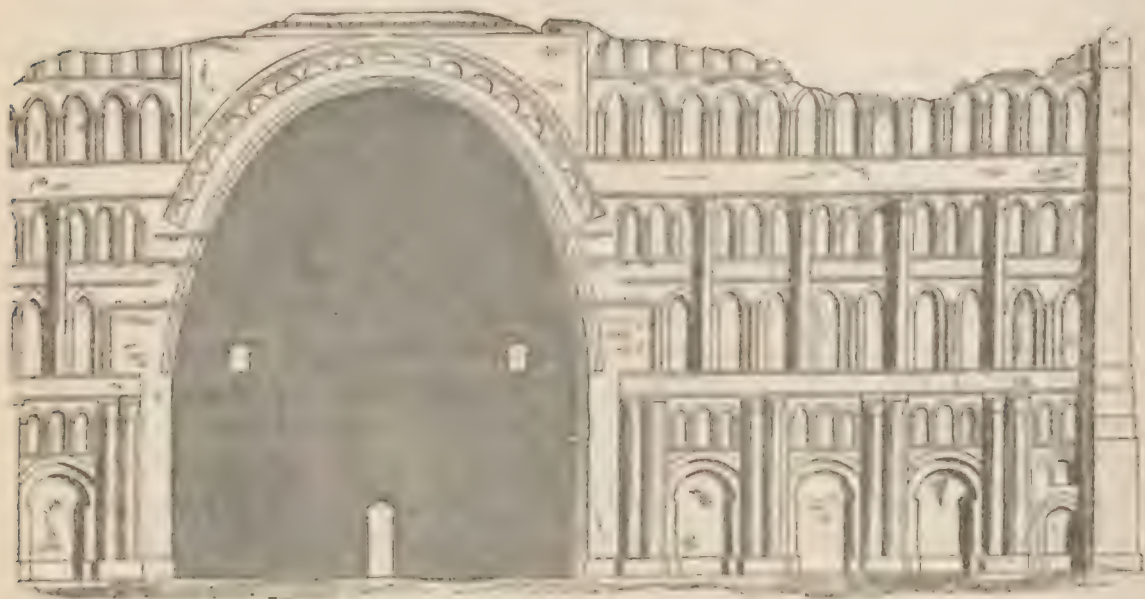
The arches appear to be pointed.

Three of the spaces completing the square are occupied by vaulted chambers, and in the fourth (north-west angle) are the remains of a staircase.

The large recesses are 33 feet high to the apex. There are no remains of dome or other roof over the crux. The building has been variously described as having been a church or a mosque. The plan bears some resemblance to that of a Greek church, but differs from it in some essential particulars, and more resembles that of such buildings as the Mosque of Hassan at Cairo, or the Mosque at Broussa, whose date is known to be of the 14th century, or the new Mosque at Algiers, built in the 16th century, both of which were designed by Christian architects for Mohammedan worship.

There are special features in the building at Ammán which render it very interesting.

In the first place the great arches over the recesses, and the wall spaces on each side, are designed in almost exactly the same way as those of the Tak Kesra at Ctesiphon, as shown in Mr. Fergusson's "History" (here reproduced by Mr. Murray's permission) and to a large scale in Flandin and Coste's "Persia."



This is assigned by him to the Sassanian period, 550, and the Amman building, though very much smaller, is so like to it, that no one, whether architect or not, can fail to be struck by the resemblance. But the details at Amman much exceed those of Ctesiphon in richness.

To quote Captain Conder's words, "The main feature is the elaborately sculptured ornamentation of the inner walls, the style of which, as a whole, is quite unlike any sculpture found in Western Palestine."

The ornament to which he refers consists, mainly, of panelling, as at Ctesiphon. But instead of being plain, as there, the semi-circular arches are much enriched, and the larger ones enclose others of distinctly a horse-shoe form, the panel having a centre mullion.

The narrow lights thus formed are filled in with roundlets, each having a rose or other ornament in the centre. Captain Conder notices that "there is an entire absence of any figures of animals." As to "the vine branches which occur in the interior of some of the panels, similar conventional vine patterns occur not only in the later Jewish tombs when Greek art influenced the native sculptors, but also in Byzantine tombs and chapels of the 5th and 6th centuries in Western Palestine. Among the details are a flat tooth moulding, which somewhat resembles the ornament applied by the Crusaders to arches in their early churches of the 12th century, — as in the beautiful west end of the Muristan, Jerusalem."

The architectural peculiarities to be noted from the foregoing statements are the general design—the horseshoe and (probably) pointed arches—the ornamental filling in to the narrow lights—and the tooth ornament.

The design appears clearly to have been derived from Sassanian sources.

The origin of the horseshoe arch is not so clear, but we have several well dated examples of it in the 6th and 7th centuries, as at Dana on the Euphrates, and at Edessa, as described in Pullan's "Byzantine Architecture."

Another well dated example has been kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Fergusson, viz., a Syrian MS., finished in 586, a copy of which is given in the splendid work of Garucci, and which shows horseshoe arches within semi-circular ones.

The filling in to the panels at Ammân is very similar to that of the windows in many of the small Greek churches, *e.g.*, the cathedral at Athens, the date of which is supposed by Couchaud (*Eglises Byzantines*) to be the 6th century, whilst Mr. Fergusson considers the date to be of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries.

From careful examination of these and other old Greek churches on the spot many years since, and again, quite recently, I am in accordance with Mr. Fergusson, to whom I have given the reasons for my opinion.

The part of the Muristan at Jerusalem to which Captain Conder refers, which I know well, and of which we have a fine photograph, taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, is of the 12th century.

The result as to the Ammân building would appear thus to be that it was designed at a late period in the traditionary style of the Sassanians, with the horseshoe arches of the East (whatever their origin), the Byzantine fillings in of the windows, and peculiar ornament used by the Western nations in their 12th century work. As singular a medley as is, I believe, to be found anywhere.

Near to the above are the ruins of a mosque, the greater part of whose walls and minaret remain, and of which we have photographs taken by Colonel Warren and by Lieutenant Mantell.

Captain Conder describes it thus—"It is a typical mosque resembling in plan the white mosque at Ramleh, and measuring 183 by 129 feet, built of finely dressed stonework. The minaret is nearly perfect, and the staircase intact. Two of the entrances have stone lintels under the arches. One arch is 7 feet 6 inches span, the lintel stone 9 feet long. Another has two lintels, each 16 feet long. The stones appear to have been cut for their present purpose, and to have little structural use. There are no traces of any inscriptions beyond a rudely carved Moslem religious formula over the door, which appears to have been cut at a late period by an unskilful hand."

The architectural interest attached to this is that these peculiar lintels were used in the early centuries A.D., in and about the Hauran, as may be seen in Count Vogué's book on Central Syria, *e.g.*, at Bozra.

To show still further what architectural interest attaches to these countries east and south of the Dead Sea, and east of the Jordan, I may mention that Professor Palmer describes in his report (to the Palestine Exploration Committee) of his journey through the rarely visited country through Petra to Beersheba, the finding of grand remains of the ruined city of Sebaita, supposed to be the Zephath of the Old Testament.

The ruins are 500 yards long, and 300 wide—the streets still to be traced; and there are large remains of three churches, many of the walls being 20 to 25 feet high. “The houses are built of stone, and the want of timber beams has been most skilfully supplied, all the lower stories being built with arches about 3 feet apart, and 2 feet wide, long thick beams of stone being placed across them.”

No one who has visited the Lebanon district, or read Count Voguë's book on Central Syria, can fail to perceive that the style of building which characterizes these northern districts, was the style used also in Moab and south of the Dead Sea, and that there are several chapters yet to be written on the art history of the past when these wild districts have been carefully explored.

T. HAYTER LEWIS.

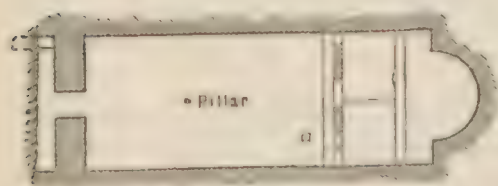
JERUSALEM.

NEWLY DISCOVERED CHURCH.

I.

18th January, 1881.

THE church of which I sent a plan by last mail has been further excavated, and an interesting piece of painting brought to light. A slab of fine limestone 20 inches by 4 feet 5 inches has on it a simple cornice,



Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.

once apparently gilt, and beneath this are the figures of the twelve Apostles, each surrounded by a sort of canopy; they stand six each side of a central figure of the throned Christ. The figures are rather stiffly drawn, and

have long robe, the feet (reminding one of the early Italian pictures of Giotto) are never visible—so far as I have as yet been able to ascertain. The slab has on the top surface the diagonal dressing used by the Crusaders.

Only a few courses of the walls of the church are standing, they have been plastered inside, and the plaster was painted. I found a mason's mark on one stone, and others have the diagonal dressing. North of the church are found vaults with pointed rubble arches. The whole is evidently of the crusading period. We are going to-day to take a tracing of the painted tablet, which will be sent home as soon as possible. The position of the church precludes the idea that it is that of St. Stephen, built in the 5th century. It seems to have been rather a chapel adjoining the Asnerie or Templars' Stable, which I was able to identify in 1873 with certain ruins close to the newly found church on the south.

C. R. C.

II.

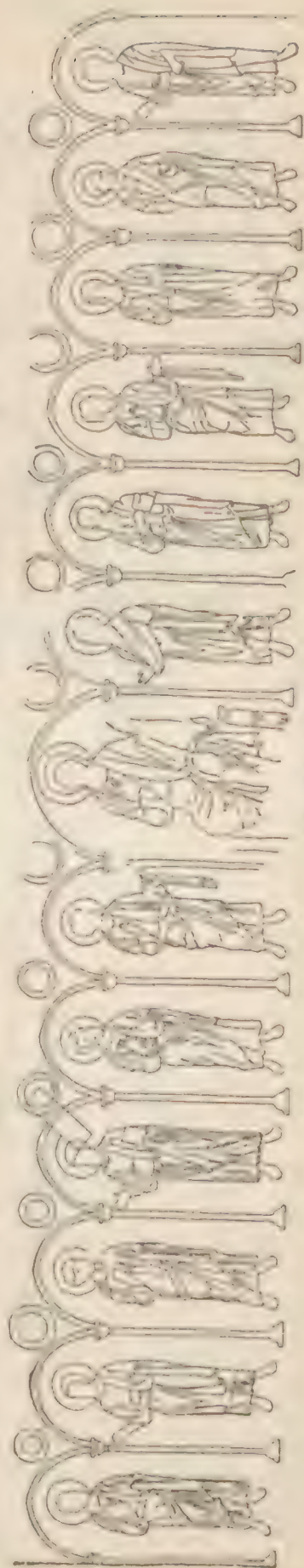
JERUSALEM, 15th February, 1882.

THE excavations at the newly discovered church outside the Damascus Gate are still in progress, but have been greatly impeded by the recent rain and falls of snow. The work has been done principally at the ends of the church, that is to say, towards the east and towards the west of the building. The outer surface of the east wall of the church—that in which the apse is built—has been laid bare. Parallel to this has been discovered one wall of a second building, perhaps a convent in connection with the church. The passage left between the two buildings is only 3 ft. 4 in. in breadth, and the stones of the convent have a remarkably clean and new appearance, as if the wall had only been recently constructed. This is no doubt due to the protection which it received from the church immediately in front of it. Moreover, the passage between the two may very possibly have been covered in, and an additional protection thus afforded to the surface of the stone.

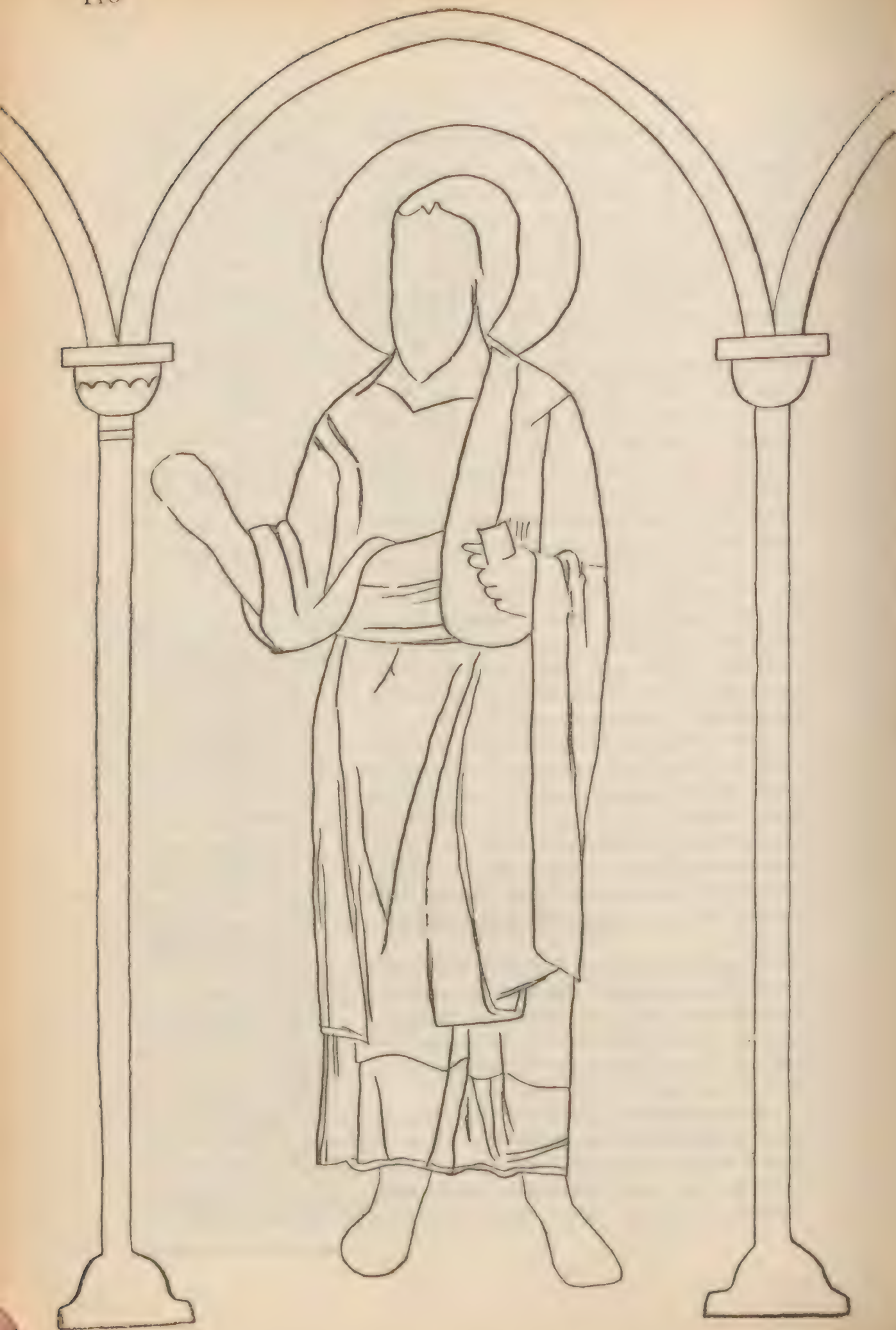
The north wall of the convent has also been laid bare for a distance of some 30 feet, but the eastern extremity has not yet been reached. It is built of larger blocks of stone and more solidly, being no doubt an outer wall, and appears to have been exposed to the weather before having been covered in by the earth which has just been removed.

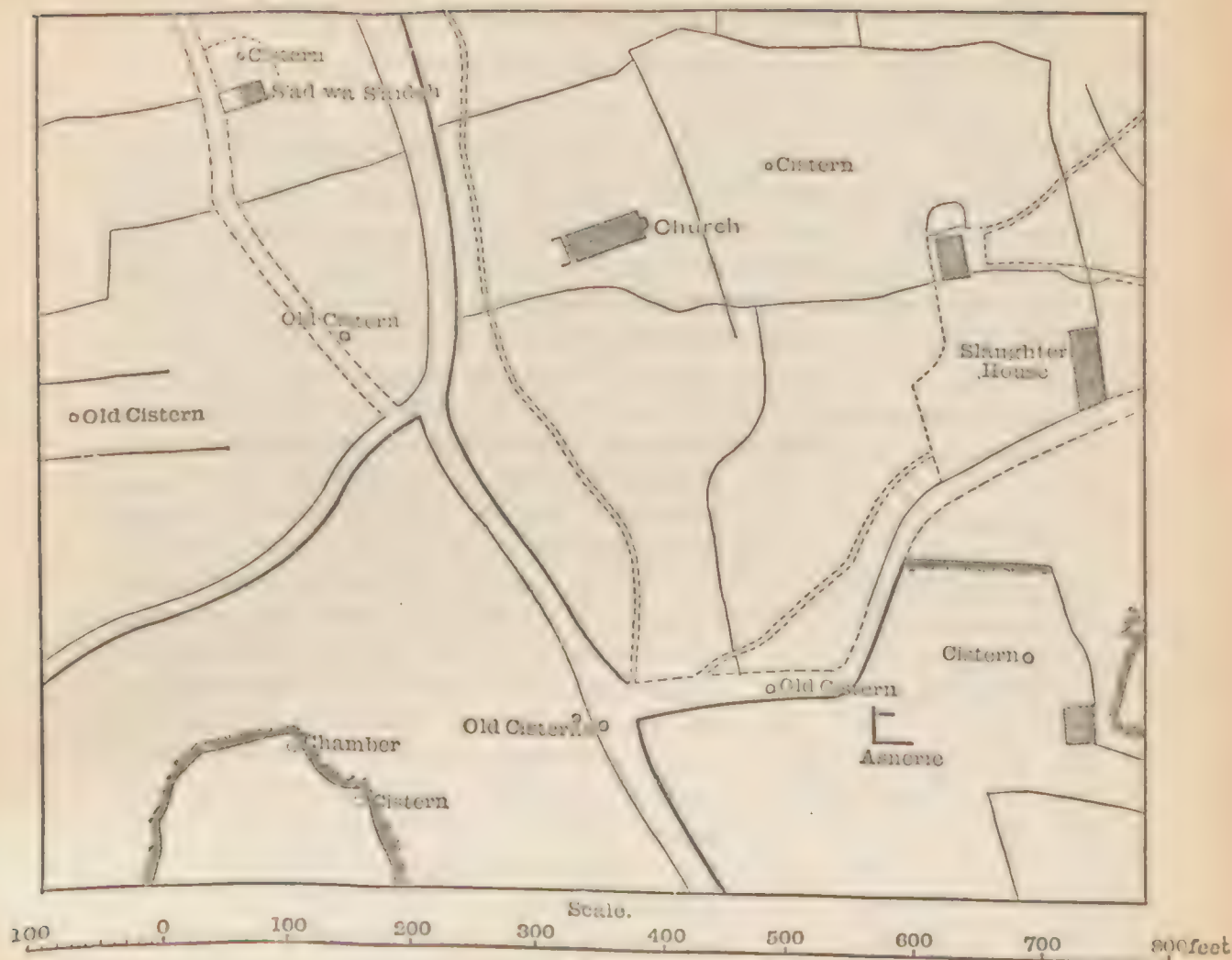
The workmen say that they have discovered a cistern in the passage between the church and the convent. It may, perhaps, exist, but yesterday while examining the place by ourselves we were unable to find the mouth.

A new door has also been discovered at the south-east corner of the church. It opens out towards the east, and is situated between the apse and the south wall. There is a fresco inside under the door-



JERUSALEM
MEDÆVAL FRESCO in newly found Church





step, but to see this and the door properly further excavation is necessary.

At the west end of the church the ground outside the main entrance proves to have been paved with flag stones to a distance of eight or nine feet from the wall. To the left on entering the paving extends to the entrance to a tomb mentioned in Captain Conder's previous report, and at this point an inscription has recently been discovered.

Further again to the west, at a distance of 31 feet from the church, a wall has been found running north and south. The extremities of this wall have not yet been laid bare, and its connection with the main building is not clear.

The point which has excited most interest is the inscription referred to above. It is cut in one of the flag stones (measuring 23 inches by 16 inches) over the tomb. The letters are of the well-known late Greek form, and in some instances are well cut. The surface of the stone is, however, much worn, so that in places it is very difficult to distinguish artificial and time-worn grooves. I send a copy of the inscription traced from a squeeze, and have shown as far as possible the distinction between marks certainly intentional and others which are doubtful.

As yet no one has been able to suggest a translation. In the first line the word $\Phi\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$ is very distinct. Dr. Chaplin thinks that the marks shown in outline adjoining the letter Φ may be a contraction for $\chi\rho\iota\kappa\tau\omicron\phi$, making the whole word $\chi\rho\iota\kappa\tau\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$ or Christopher. In the second line the only doubtful letter is the Δ which has been read Λ . However, it seems to me that a horizontal stroke is visible, although not nearly so plain as the rest of the letter. As regards the third and fourth line there is little difference of opinion, but below the word $\omicron\kappa\tau\alpha$ are a number of marks in which it is almost impossible to distinguish those which are time-worn from those which are artificial.

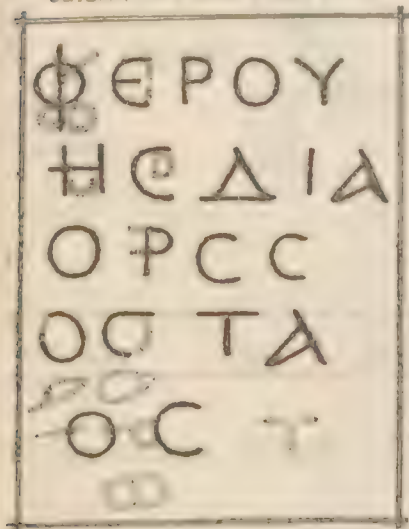
It has been suggested that we have only recovered a part of the inscription, the stone on which it is cut having formed portion of a block

employed previously for some other purpose, and that we have lost the right half or the left half of each line. An examination on the spot shows however, that this is improbable. The flag-stone is *in situ*, above a tomb—a very natural position for a tomb-stone. It is close to the door of the church, and the workmen would not be likely to disfigure the floor in such a place with a previously used stone, when a new one might be so easily obtained. Moreover, the tracing of the squeeze shows that the present inscription could nowhere be cut through at right angles to the lines without dividing some of the letters. If the inscription had been originally longer it is unlikely that it could have been cut in two without thus dividing the letters, but along each side of the stone as it now stands there is

JERUSALEM.

Inscription

at nearly discovered church
outside the Damascus Gate



no trace of any such prolongation of the lines. In all probability we have before us the whole inscription, and it only remains to decipher the contractions which it no doubt contains.

The enterprising owner of the church intends to continue his excavations. Unfortunately the ground outside the south wall does not belong to him, otherwise he might have found chambers and tombs similar to those on the north. He intends, however, to work in an east and west direction, and to uncover the walls as far as he is allowed to do so by his neighbours.

A. M. MANTELL, *Lieut., R.E.*

NOTE ON PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS IN WESTERN PALESTINE.

THE reason which I have suggested in a former report for the absence of dolmens in Judæa, was the reiterated injunctions to the Jews to overthrow the pagan altars and pillars. Since the discovery of so many splendid specimens, most of which have not been previously seen (especially at Heshbon), we have been anxious to re-examine Western Palestine with a view to ascertain whether some hidden examples might not exist of dolmens or menhirs. Visits to likely spots have, however, as yet produced no results.

My attention has now been called to a site immediately north of Kastal and of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, where a small monument has been found much resembling a dolmen. It is a flat stone measuring 6 feet by 3 feet, supported on one side by a block 3 feet by 6 feet and 3 feet high, and on the other by small stones. On the other side of the hill are two smaller monuments with stones 3 feet long. The site is one not unlike those places where dolmens are found beyond Jordan, namely, a hill looking down on an open valley with springs (Ain Dilbeh); and there are traces of a large enclosure on the flat hill top. I am not, however, able to satisfy myself that the stones in question have been really piled up as dolmens: their upper surfaces are rough, and there are no channels or cup-shaped hollows; they are, in fact, of the same tantalising character as some of the similar structures which Mr. Drake and I used to examine, without ever feeling satisfied that they were more than accidental or natural productions.

In addition, however, to the "stone of blood" and other interesting dolmens found by Lieutenant Kitchener in Galilee, there are one or two others mentioned in the *Memoirs*. The monument occurring east of the plain of Esdraelon (of Deir Ghazâleh, Sheet viii, Sect. B, "*Memoirs of West Palestine Survey*") appears to me clearly to be cognate to the Minyeh enclosures (see Report X). It has a dolmen altar, and traces of an oval with a central cippus—although not of great size. The dolmen itself is fully equal to the average size of those beyond Jordan.

In surveying the site of Gezer I also found a monument which seems probably to be a dolmen. It has two Hebrew letters (or what appear to be such) cut on the top stone. I obtained a sketch and measurements in 1875, and the structure is briefly described in the *Memoirs*.

The cup-shaped hollows in flat rocks, which are found beyond Jordan close to dolmens, are also often found in Palestine. They may, perhaps, mark the sites of former dolmen altars which have been purposely destroyed by the Jews. Three such hollows, each about six inches in diameter, were noticed by Lieutenant Mantell on the hill at Kastal about 250 yards north of the doubtful cromlech.

C. R. C.

THE SILOAM TUNNEL.

JERUSALEM, 1st December, 1881.

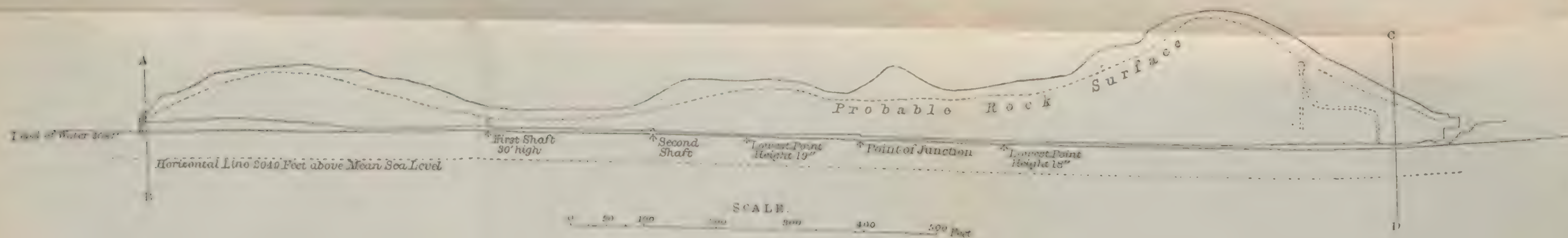
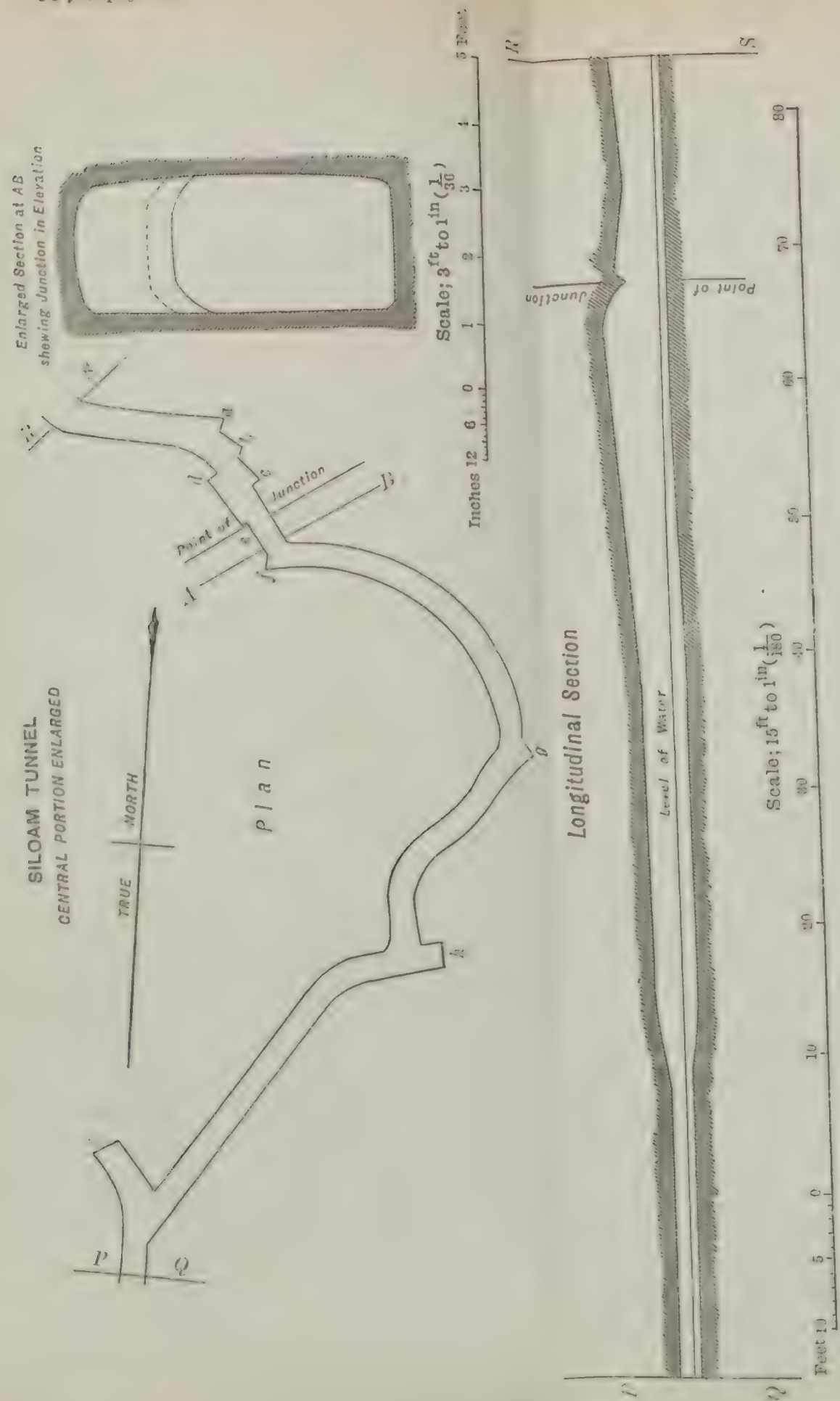
THE details recorded in the Siloam inscription concerning the great conduit, seemed to render it expedient to revisit the channel, in order to search for the point of junction between the two working parties, as well as to ascertain whether any other inscribed tablets might exist in other parts of the tunnel, or whether any marks connected with original measurements might remain.

Lieutenant Mantell, Mr. Armstrong, and I therefore visited the tunnel on 10th November, and spent nearly five hours in it, crawling from one end to the other, and measuring carefully, with a chain and a prismatic compass, the whole length between the Pool of Siloam and the upper spring (en Rogel, Gihon in the Valley, Bethesda, 'Ain Umm ed Deraj, or the Virgin's Fountain, as it is variously called).

We found less difficulty than Captain Warren experienced, because the level of the water has been lowered, and the overflow of the upper spring does not occur often in autumn. We were nevertheless very anxious while employed in the central section of the tunnel, where the height is only about 19 inches for some 20 yards, the breadth being only about 2 feet : for if the waters were to rise here (when the overflow occurs) to a height of little over a foot, it would be almost impossible to escape drowning. We were unable to ascertain when the water was expected to rise, or the height to which it attains ; but fortunately no overflow took place during the five hours which we spent in the tunnel, and we suffered only from the discomforts of mud and leeches and wet clothing, with the fatigue due to crawling so long in a cramped position, occasionally over stones or sharp fragments of broken pottery.

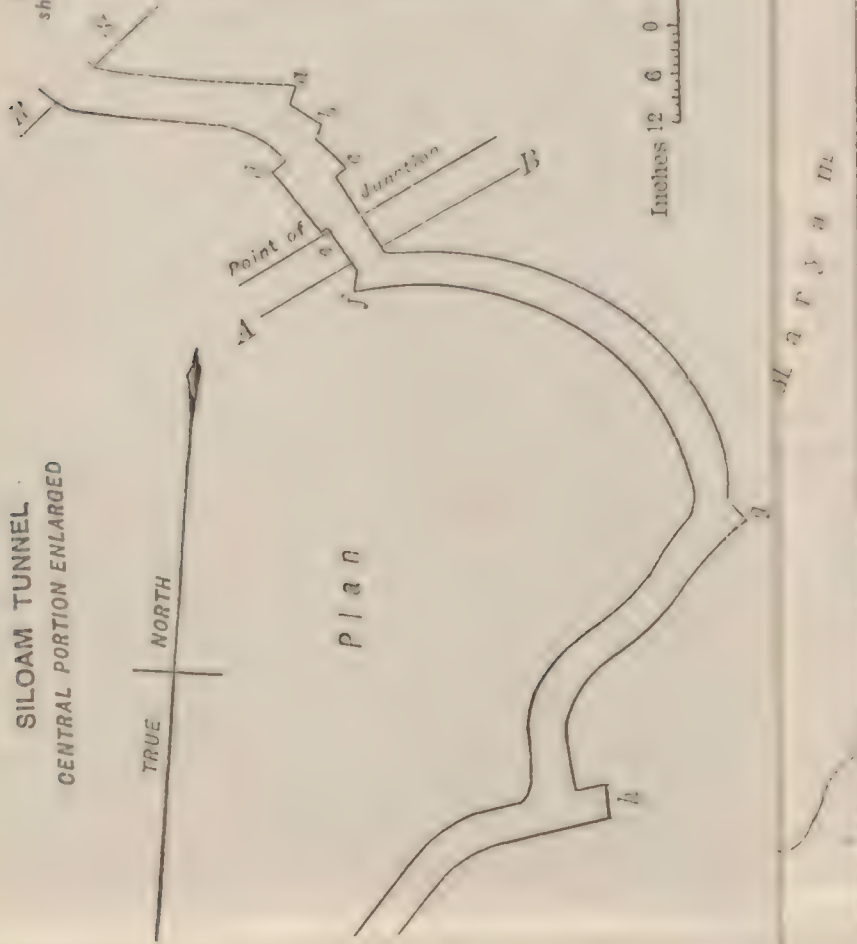
The measurement which we obtained with a chain (afterwards corrected by the standard) gives a total length of 1,706·8 feet between the Siloam end of the tunnel and the place where it enters the cross passage to the Virgin's pool, thus agreeing within 2 feet with Colonel Warren's total of 1,708 feet, and proving that his conjecture as to Robinson's measurement must be correct, and that the latter authority includes in his total of 1,758 feet that portion of the cross passage which leads from the Siloam tunnel to the back of the Virgin's pool, and which measures 50·8 feet by the chain.

The accompanying plan will be found to agree with that of Colonel Warren. The section is made from measurement of the height of the channel in different places, taken by us at frequent intervals where a marked alteration occurs. The surface is shown in accordance with the intersections along the canal of the contours shown on the Ordnance Survey ; and the supposed rock surface agrees with Colonel Warren's " Rock Contours on Ophel," checked in one place by an actual measurement of the rock surface, which we have now taken in the vertical shaft leading up from the roof of the tunnel.



SILOAM TUNNEL
CENTRAL PORTION ENLARGED

Enlarged Section at AB
showing Junction in Elevation



Scale; 3^{ft} to 1ⁱⁿ ($\frac{1}{36}$)

Inches 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 Feet

R

We were, however, not completely satisfied with the results of our first visit, and accordingly, on the 22nd November, Lieutenant Mantell and I revisited the tunnel with a view of ascertaining the point of junction between the two working parties, and of searching for measurement marks on the walls.

We entered from the northern end, and had just commenced operations, when a shout from our servant warned us that the waters were rising.

When we first entered there was not much more than a foot depth of water in the pool, but the rush of water was now very rapid, and the depth increased just after we had reached the foot of the steps which lead down to the pool, to 4 feet 7 inches. The sound of the current pouring down the tunnel was distinct, and the depth of water in the channel, as we found afterwards, was somewhat over 9 inches, so that before the level had been lowered at the Siloam end the passage of the tunnel must always have been a very dangerous undertaking; and, indeed, might still prove so to an explorer caught by the overflow in the lowest part of the passage near the centre.

On our second visit we remained four hours in the tunnel, and inspected both walls very carefully, from the northern entrance to the place where we now suppose the junction of the two working parties to have occurred. I think we may state with confidence, that there is no tablet similar to that now famous, to be found in any other part of the tunnel, and that there is no other inscription. There is, indeed, no place fitted like that where the existing tablet has been found, because the tunnel is quite dark except at the mouth, and is for the greater part of its length so low that it would be extremely difficult, and often impossible, to carve an inscription.

As regards the existing tablet, I may remark that I have examined it again very closely, and feel convinced that the inscription has not been in any way damaged by the application of hydrochloric acid to remove the lime deposit which had filled in the letters. I have made the same remark in the previous *Quarterly Statement* (p. 278), but Professor Sayce appears (p. 282) to adopt the opinion of Mr. Piltner, that the acid has damaged the inscription, and he remarks that my report "makes the fact quite plain." We have, however, copies by Dr. Guthe, taken both before and after the cleaning of the inscription, which served to show that no bad effect resulted from the repeated washings; and the rock surface is still quite firm and hard, showing no signs of rottenness or chipping. I cannot but think that the letters which Professor Sayce put down, and which cannot now be discovered on any of the squeezes or casts, were not actually existent in the rock, but were merely marks formed by the lime deposit, and thus removed by the acid. Having seen the tablet before the acid was applied, I can add my testimony to that of others as to the entirely different aspect which the inscription presented before and after cleaning.

Before cleaning it resembled a rude scrawl of uncertain shapes, while it is now seen to have been carved with great care, in regular lines, and with constant forms for every letter. The copy published in the *Quarterly*

Statement for April, p. 70, contrasted with that given in October, p. 286, gives in fact a very fair idea of the difference which was made by cleaning the tablet.

The cast which has now reached England is fortunately so good that but little room for dispute can be left. It appears that the text must originally have consisted of about 190 letters, of which 171 are recoverable. This number exceeds that which was first given in Professor Sayce's copy, the total of which was 169 letters. It seems, therefore, clear that no letters have been lost in the process of cleaning.

The cast and squeeze will be found to agree with Professor Sayce's copy in 151 out of 169 letters. It is therefore clear that, practically, Professor Sayce was able, in spite of the great difficulties which he encountered, to transcribe correctly the great bulk of the inscription, and thus was the first to give the reading which in the main has been accepted. In his latest copy he has corrected 13 letters out of 18, in which he differed from the squeeze and the cast, and has added one of the two missing letters. The points of dispute, so far as the letters are concerned, are thus reduced to five letters which are doubtful, and two letters which appear on the cast but were not sent home on the squeeze, or noticed in the accompanying report.

I have also compared the cast and my own squeeze with Dr. Guthe's copy, which is the best which has been made, with exception of the cast. Dr. Guthe's copy agrees with ours in every respect. He has, however, shown six more letters than we were able to recover, and all six are correct according to the cast. Indeed, Dr. Guthe's copy appears to be perfect, with exception of the omission of two letters in the first line, which will be discovered on the cast.

The important details which will be elucidated by the cast are as follows :—In the first line Professor Sayce and Professor Socin read הנקבה בעור. It seems, however, from the cast, that the second word is perhaps בעורו. In the fourth line Professor Sayce reads אל המים, but Professor Socin על המים. It will be seen from the cast that Professor Socin is right. There are, of course many other minor points on which the cast throws much light, confirming the squeeze in a very satisfactory manner. In the fifth line there is no doubt room for the disputed letters in the reading במאתים ואלף, but I have not been able to find any traces of the ך ם on either squeeze, cast, or stone; and it seems highly probable that a fissure in the rock here existed at the time when the inscription was cut.

The two letters הן at the beginning of the inscription, which Professor Sayce adopted from Mr. Pilter, I have never been able to find on the stone, although the original surface is preserved, nor have I been able to find the letters (הן) at the end of the inscription, which are also absent from Dr. Guthe's copy. Possibly these, and the disputed ה in the second line, may have been marks due to the lime incrustation, and not actual letters at all.

I may now proceed to describe the reasons which induce us to suppose that we have been able to fix the exact point of junction of the two working parties, in a position which exactly agrees with the inscription, according to Professor Sayce's latest translation (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 284). For this purpose we have prepared an enlarged plan and section of the central part of the tunnel, where a remarkable S shaped contortion occurs.

At the points *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, and *i*, certain *set backs* will be observed in the walls of the passage, which indicate a sudden change in direction on the part of the excavator. They are, indeed, false heads, abandoned apparently from the conviction that the passage was not going in the right direction. In the case of *h* and *i*, however, which are out of the general direction, and continued further, these recesses may have served as sidings, allowing two excavators to pass one another, which would be impossible without them.

The important point, however, to observe is that some of these headings point up channel, and some point down, and this not without a system, for while *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, point down, *g*, *h*, *i* point up. Similar headings occur in other parts of the tunnel, but they always agree with the rule thus observed, those which are between the Virgin's Fountain and the point *a*, pointing down stream, and those between *i* and Siloam pointing up stream.

Each of these headings has a rounded top, such as would result from the excavation of the rock with a pick, by a man working with his face to the front. It shows that on turning aside from the heading he left the roof unfinished, in just the form which would result from the swinging of a pick in a curve, which,—as a moment's reflection will convince the reader,—is the shape natural to an unfinished excavation. Looking at the plan then, we see that an excavator facing *down stream* was working at the headings *a*, *b*, *c*, and was three times induced to work away further to his right. Looking at *f*, we see an excavator working up stream and induced to turn to his right. We see, moreover, that the point *e* might have been the actual point where the channels met, as there is a slight set back down stream within 2 feet of the set back *f*, up-stream.

Now on looking at the section and cross-section, it will be seen that there is a sudden difference of level in the roof of the channel at this point.

Within a distance of 2 feet 6 inches it falls from 4 feet 8 inches to 3 feet 7 inches, and a sort of ruin occurs where the lower channel (up-stream) joins the more lofty down-stream excavation.

In fact, the general appearance of this part of the tunnel, looking up-stream from *f*, is that of a smaller drain opening into a main drain, and would of itself suggest that this is the point of junction, without considering the testimony of the headings. It may, therefore, I think, be considered certain that the place of junction was at the point *e*, or 944 feet from the mouth of the tunnel, and consequently 813.6 feet from the back of the Virgin's Fountain.

This discovery agrees in a remarkable manner with the wording of the

inscription. In the directions which are indicated by the headings at *a* and *f* the two parties were working nearly parallel to one another, and might have passed each other without joining, having a thickness of seven feet of rock between; those in the up-stream channel being to the right or east of those in the down-stream tunnel. Each, therefore, began to turn to his right; and those in the up-stream channel did so most rapidly. The shape of the cutting at the point *d* gives evidence of a very complete change of axis. This is not, as might be supposed from the plan, an up-stream heading, conflicting with what has been said before; for the roof of the tunnel at *d* is curved on the *side* and not at the *end* of this set back, showing that the workman, after leaving the false headings *a*, *b*, *c*, began to widen the channel on his right, facing for a short time to the side instead of to his front. The little buttress thus left was never cleared away, but remains to give its evidence of the method of excavation of the tunnel.

The inscription (line 2) tells us that *three cubits* remained to be broken through, when it was discovered that there was an "excess in the rock to the right." Now if we consider the down-stream party to have worked to *e*, it will be seen that the party at *d* were just three cubits of 16 inches from them, when they discovered their excess, and began to cut away the rock on the right. It was this which was done according to the text (line 3), for they "struck on the west" that is, facing west, just as we have seen the excavator at *d* must have faced. The party at *e*, in the meanwhile, seem to have stopped working, which they would naturally do, to avoid injuring, or being injured by, the others when the pick struck through the last dividing partition of rock. Again, in the last line, we read that "three-fourths [?] of a cubit was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation." If this be the correct reading, it is remarkable that the difference of height of the two channels at the point of junction is just 13 inches or close upon three-fourths of a cubit of 16 inches.

Unfortunately, however, the text is deficient just in the place where the number occurs, and it appears, according to Professor Sayce, that the word תשס is used as a plural: it may, therefore, be found that the measurement recorded in the inscription refers to something else. The words "height of the rock over the head of the excavation," strictly interpreted, would seem to infer that the excavators were aware of the thickness of the rock above them, that is, of the depth of the channel below the surface of the hill. This they could only ascertain either by measurement at the mouths of the channel, or by running contours over the hill,—just as the accompanying section is constructed from the contours—unless they made a shaft to the surface. This is just what they did, for at a distance of 470 feet from the south end a shaft still exists reaching up to the rock surface. It is covered in above with large fallen blocks, but was no doubt once open and served as a well mouth. The rock surface is 14 feet above the floor of the tunnel, the height of which is 3 feet 8 inches at this point. The thickness of rock is, therefore, about 10 feet "above the head of the excavation" at the shaft. This is

the minimum thickness, as is shown by the section, for towards the north the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel. Perhaps in the end the doubtful word may prove to be **מאת** "an hundred," of which the first and last letters certainly occur, though the **ס** has not been discerned; and the inscription in such a case would refer, in general terms, to the average thickness of the rock above the aqueduct.

Still more interesting is the question whether the length of "a thousand cubits" can have any connection with the measured length of the canal. It is remarkable that 1,700 feet is very close upon 1,000 cubits of 21 inches, and is also very nearly 1,200 cubits of 17 inches, so that the two readings adopted by Professor Sayce and Mr. Shapira respectively might both be supported on the assumption of a different length for the cubit. It would, however, be a very astonishing coincidence if a tunnel so irregularly excavated should in the end have proved to be exactly a thousand cubits long, and it seems far more probable that the writer of the inscription gives an estimated or approximate length, in round numbers, in which case the inscription has no value as fixing the length of the cubit. I have given, in the *Quarterly Statement* of 1880, a *résumé* of the measurements of the Jerusalem Haram and the Galilean Synagogues, which appear to indicate a length of about 16 inches as that of the Jewish cubit, which was not of necessity the same as the Egyptian cubit.

The average measurement of the human hand, as compared with the length of the Zereth or breadth of four fingers, and of the *sit* or span; and the digit of Maimonides as compared with the contents of an average egg, all agree with this shorter measurement. The "cubit" (or fore-arm) "of a man" cannot be measured so as to give 21 inches, nor could 48 barleycorns be made to measure more than about 16 inches (cf. "Handbook to Bible," pp. 57, 79).

Unfortunately, Mr. Beswick's calculations, which reduces the length of the tunnel to 1,478 feet, is founded on a misconception (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 295), as the length of the branch from the Virgin's Fountain is not included in the total of 1,708 feet.

We have, however, paid special attention to the question whether any marks of measurement could be found on the walls or roof of the channel, and we obtained measurements of certain distances between marks on the wall, of which a digest is given below. The marks in question are evidently artificial, being square or triangular notches measuring about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. In one place two of them occur 8 inches apart (half a cubit of 16 inches), which, if it had any weight, would seem to indicate that the measurements were not very carefully taken. It seems impossible, however, to deduce any result of value from the measurements tabulated.

There are marks in other places where iron cramps seem to have been driven some 3 inches into the rock, but these also have no regular interval of occurrence, and a very careful examination of both walls, four times repeated, has failed to show us any other marks or signs than those above-mentioned.

The general impression resulting from an examination of the conduit is that it was the work of a people whose knowledge of engineering was rudimentary. It is well known that in mining it is very difficult to induce the excavator to keep in a truly straight line, the tendency being to diverge very rapidly to one side. It is possible that this is the real reason of the crooked run of the canal; but another reason may have been the comparative hardness of the strata met in mining at an uniform level through a hill, with beds having a considerable dip. It will, however, be observed that, after passing the shaft, the direction of the tunnel changes to a line more truly directed on the Virgin's Fountain. The excavators from the Siloam end became aware, probably, by the impossibility of seeing a light at the head of the mine, when standing at the mouth of the channel, that they were not going straight, and the only means they had of correcting the error, consisted in making a shaft up to the surface to see where they had got to. After ascertaining this, they went straight for about 140 feet, and then diverged gradually to the left; but their general direction, nevertheless, agrees roughly with that of the rock contour, which may be due to following a particular seam of rock.

The northern party were yet more hopelessly in the dark, and the great divergence to the west can only be explained by supposing that they did not know where they were going. They seem to have been guided, at length, by the sound of the picks in the other tunnel, which would be heard at a considerable distance through the soft rock, but even then their course indicates great uncertainty.

It is also apparent that a rivalry must have existed between the two parties, working as the inscription tells us "eagerly;" for the two narrowest parts of the tunnel occur, one on either side of the point of junction. In fact, the excavators must be accused of scamping their work, with the object of showing a greater total length than their rivals, and for this purpose they reduced the size of the excavation to a minimum in which it seems almost impossible that a man could have worked. It is clear, anyhow, that the excavators were not giants, and probable that they were under the average size of the modern peasantry in Palestine.

Another interesting question is the increase of height in the tunnel near the point of junction. This may have been due to the intention of concealing their previous proceedings, but it seems more probable that the reason is to be found in the difference of level between the two channels where they meet. The height of the channel does not appear—according to the section—to bear any relation to the thickness of the rock above, but there must evidently have been some cause for the difference of height in various parts of the aqueduct. There is a fall of a foot in the whole length of the tunnel, but the bottom is coated with very hard mud, so that it is quite impossible to ascertain whether the floor is properly levelled or no. At one point (*h* on enlarged plan) a sudden fall of 4 inches appears to occur in the floor level, and the water becomes deeper within a few steps. From this point, also, the roof begins to rise, and gets gradually higher. In 49 feet from *h* to the point of junction *c*, the tunnel increases from

2 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8 inches in height. It seems probable, therefore, that the southern, or up-stream tunnel, struck higher by about 2 feet than the floor of the down stream shaft, and that the floor was subsequently lowered as far as $\frac{1}{2}$, when it was found that the water would flow for the rest of the way to the pool without further alteration. This inference could only be drawn from the fact of the *southern* channel being the highest—which is the case. If the northern channel had been the highest we should probably have found a kind of shoot, instead of a gradual levelling off of the floor. The observation serves, however, to give an independent confirmation of the determination of the point of junction before indicated from consideration of the plan alone.

With all allowances, it is nevertheless remarkable that there should have been so little difference of level between the two tunnels. It would have been easy from the flow of the torrent in the Kedron, to make sure that the Pool of Siloam was lower than the spring; and it would not have been difficult by means of a plummet or of a rude water level of some kind, to preserve the level of the channel floor; but it is extraordinary that the two extreme ends of the channel should differ by only a foot in level, considering that the two ends were started independently.

The two ends of the channel are more lofty than any other part, and near the mouth the tunnel is 12 to 16 feet high. Perhaps this may also be connected with the question of the water level, for the intermittent flow of the Virgin's Pool must have caused considerable difficulties. It is true that at the time of the excavation of the tunnel, the overflow of the spring appears to have been carried off by the "brook that ran through the midst of the land" (2 Chron., xxxii, 4), but some of the water would, nevertheless, run down the channel. If, however, the floor of the tunnel at its upper end had been kept about a foot above the high-water mark until the end of the work, this would have been sufficient to prevent any flow down the tunnel. The height of the aqueduct at the upper end is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it increases rapidly to 6 feet in 20 feet distance, after which it decreases gradually to about 3 feet. This might be explained by supposing that the tunnel was purposely at first run up-hill for a short distance to prevent the water entering, and was afterwards enlarged by sinking the floor so as to admit the overflow when the natural outflow of the Virgin's Pool down the Kedron valley was stopped.

The enlargement at the southern end may also be due to the sinking of the floor after the junction had been effected. It may have been found that the water stood in the tunnel and could not flow into the pool. The excavators would then cut away the rock floor until the water ran through, and the roof would consequently be higher above the water than near the centre where the water was standing. In this case, it seems to have been merely accidental that the levels of the tunnels near the point of junction were so nearly the same, and the differences of height in various parts are seen to be easily explained, on the theory that the aqueduct required considerable alteration after the junction had been effected, and the water

admitted into the upper part of the channel in order to obtain an outflow at the pool of Siloam.

I have thus enumerated all the points which seem to me of importance, as bearing on the method of construction of the canal, and its relation to the wording of the inscription. The number of small bends and irregularities in the course of the tunnel shows, not less than do the larger irregularities, that it was the work of primitive engineers, unacquainted with any very accurate instruments or methods of measurement. Such rock-cut channels are found in other parts of Palestine (as at 'Askar, near Shechem, Sheet XI; at 'Anin, Sheet VIII; or at Lejjûn, Sheet VIII), but the Siloam tunnel is the most important work of the kind yet discovered. The sides are covered up to a height of about 3 feet with a thin red cement, very hard, and full of pounded pottery, being exactly similar in constitution to that now used in Palestine for lining cisterns. The cracks in the rock are in many places filled in with similar cement above the 3-foot level. In other places the rock has been cut away so as to form a little drain, by which a small land-spring could be led into the channel.

The lower part of the channel has been widened slightly in the parts where the tunnel is highest, the walls being scooped out some 3 inches on either side to a height of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There is also a shaft or standing place at 700 feet from the south end. It is 7 feet high from the floor, and the roof is of rock. Possibly it was made by the excavator to rest himself in by standing upright after working for a long time in a recumbent position, for it is near the lowest part of the tunnel. It may also have been constructed for safety when the sudden overflow of the spring filled the tunnel, for his head would be high above the water if he sat or stood under this shaft.

We did not observe any side entrance into the channel at any point, and the walls and roof are of solid rock throughout. The initials J. A. S. H. M., and date 1835, are burnt with the smoke of a candle on the roof of the tunnel at 240 feet from the southern end.

In connection with this tunnel I may add a few words as to the new aqueduct recently discovered by the Fellahin. It was not apparently examined by Dr. Guthe, and only a small part of it is at present visible. The level of the top of the covering stones is about 2,091 feet at the point observed. The stones are 1 foot thick, and the channel beneath is at least 2 feet deep, and probably more, as it is filled up with rubbish. This gives a level 2,088 feet, which is a foot above the level of the bottom of the pool of Siloam, from which this aqueduct appears to have led. The channel is rock-cut, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and roofed with slabs of stone. In some of these there are slits about 3 inches wide and 20 inches long, but the object of these openings is not clear, unless they served for air holes to relieve the pressure. The aqueduct appears to follow the contour of the hill, westwards from Siloam, and the Fellahin, who have not discovered the end of it, suggested that it went to the Bîr Eyûb, where it will be remembered Colonel Warren found an unfinished subterranean channel. The difference of level is,

however, too great to allow of the two being probably connected. It would be very interesting to follow up the aqueduct from both ends, especially as it may furnish the real explanation of the expression that Hezekiah "Stopped the watercourse of the upper spring and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David" (2 Chron. xxxii, 30), thus throwing some light on the vexed question of the position of this part of Jerusalem. It is quite possible that subterranean reservoirs, as yet unknown, may exist in connection with this aqueduct, for the Bir Eyûb itself was long quite unknown, and was recovered in the middle ages by excavation.

C. R. C.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

SILOAM TUNNEL.

The Zero marks the commencement of a series of measurements between two or more notches.

	Feet.	16-inch cubit.	17·72-inch cubit.	18-inch cubit.	21-inch cubit.
Notch A	0	0	0	0	0
" B	$\frac{8}{12}$	·5	·45	·44	·38
" C	$57\frac{6}{12}$	43·12	38·43	38·33	32·86
" D	0	0	0	0	0
" E	$41\frac{10}{12}$	31·37	28·33	27·87	23·90
" F	0	0	0	0	0
" G	$12\frac{8}{12}$	9·5	8·57	8·44	7·24
" H	0	0	0	0	0
" I	$15\frac{2}{12}$	11·37	10·27	10·11	8·69
" J	0	0	0	0	0
" K	$25\frac{6}{12}$	19·12	17·27	17·	14·57
" L	$24\frac{6}{12}$	18·37	16·59	15·93	13·52
" M	$9\frac{6}{12}$	7·12	6·43	6·33	5·43

KADESH ON THE ORONTES.

ARROS HOUSE, CENTRAL HILL, UPPER NORWOOD,
March 20th, 1882.

It was scarcely worth Mr. Tomkins' while to carry our different opinions from the Society of Biblical Archaeology, where we had his maps and diagrams, and ample opportunity for discussion, to your "*Quarterly*." As he has done so, however, I beg to re-state my reasons for agreeing with Lieutenant Conder, and disagreeing with him:—

1. Forty years ago the Rev. Dr. Thomson found the name Kadesh clinging to the place. In the "Land and the Book," page 110, he says, "At Kedes, an old city near the head of the Lake of Hums, I found the peasants breaking up beautiful marble columns with sledge-hammers," &c.
2. In 1872 I visited Tell Neby Mendeh, in company with Mr. Kirby Green, H.B. Majesty's Consul. We spent a night and part of two days in the place, and found the name still known to the people.
3. Mr. Tomkins' own maps and plans, showing the combatants in action all round the lake, practically disposed of Mr. Tomkins' theory.
4. The complaint of Rameses II, as he stumbled into the Khita ambuscade, that his army being at the Lake of the Amorites, had left him in the lurch. Had the Egyptian army been at the sheet of water at the city Kadesh, they would have been in the proper place to have supported their king, and they could not have been considered absent.

Regretting my inability to agree with Mr. Tomkins on this point, I gladly acknowledge the good service he has done in drawing attention to the subject.

WILLIAM WRIGHT.

ASSYRIAN DISCOVERIES NEAR BAGDAD.

DURING a discussion which recently took place on a paper read at the Victoria Institute by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins, on Biblical Proper Names, Mr. Rassam, the well-known discoverer of Assyrian relics, made the following statement in reference to his recent researches in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. "Mr. Tomkins has alluded to the discoveries I have been enabled to make among the ancient cities of the East. I am sorry I

cannot at present say much about what I have recently been doing, or I should have given the account elsewhere. Indeed, with one exception, I have not very much to tell you since the lecture I delivered here two years ago. I will, however, offer you a brief statement of what I have lately discovered. In March last I went out again to the East, as you know I am always doing, for the purpose of finding out the old cities which lie buried there. As I was journeying on one occasion in pursuit of this object, I met with an Arab who told me that he knew of an old ruined city, the remains of which were to be found within five hours of Bagdad—that is to say, taking the computation at three miles an hour, the place he knew of was fifteen miles from Bagdad. As I am one who never refuses to act on any information likely to lead to some practical result, I said I would go with him to the place indicated. I therefore accompanied him; and as we were travelling along the route pointed out by the Arab, we came at a distance of four hours' journeying upon an old ruin that I had never seen before—a ruin of great magnitude—so large, indeed, that it must be about three miles in circumference. I at first thought that this was the place of which my guide had spoken, and I said to him, "Oh! this is the place?" He replied, "No; that is not the place I told you of, it is further on." Then I said, "What is this place?" He answered, "I do not know." However, I made up my mind that I would certainly explore it when I came back. We consequently went onwards, and at last the Arab showed me a most wonderful ruin. I set to work and excavated there, but I found nothing of any antiquarian value. I afterwards went back to the place I had first seen, and commenced a thorough search there. The result was, that after digging for four days we came upon the top of some walls. This induced us to persevere with increased ardour, and we soon found that we had come upon an enormous building, in which we began to find inscriptions. I may here say that I am not an Assyrian reader. I am only a discoverer of Assyrian relics, which I send to the British Museum, where those who have made Assyriology a study interpret the inscriptions I find. We first of all discovered four rooms, and then came upon a fifth. They were what I should call generally of the Assyrian or Babylonian order, and paved with bricks or stones; but the fifth room was paved with asphalte, the discovery of which brought to my mind Solomon's saying—"There is nothing new under the sun." Previous to this I had always thought that asphalte was a modern invention. Singular as this discovery was, we dug through the asphalte, and in a short time we were rewarded by coming upon a coffer on which we found inscriptions. From this coffer we took two cylinders. These were covered with inscriptions, which are supposed to be the most important records of the oldest city in the world, founded, as historians tell us, by Noah after the Deluge, and where, according to tradition, Noah buried the antediluvian records. Well, I had to come home; but I left some workmen continuing the operations at the spot, and I have ascertained that they have found, after a few days' more digging, that in one of the rooms there was a channel, and

inside that channel there were records inscribed on nearly ten thousand tablets. These tablets are all coming to England, but we cannot of course as yet say what they contain. They may contain something of even greater value than anything that has hitherto been discovered in the course of our Eastern researches. It may be, indeed, that we shall really find on them the antediluvian records of which I have spoken. After I have been out there again I shall be happy to give you further information as to this interesting discovery on my return. I hope to be going out in another month, and then I trust I shall be able to make still further advances on what we have already discovered."

CROMLECHS ON THE EAST OF JORDAN.

CAPTAIN CONDER, in his interesting account of survey work done by him and his companions East of Jordan, speaks of having found some 400 cromlechs. This agrees with the statements made to my husband by his Arab escort when he visited that country in 1855, "our guides told us that they abound all over the hills." In his "Byways in Palestine," 1st Edition, p. 64, he gives a drawing of one of several which he saw after leaving Sûf, going northwards through Bashan. They were constructed of four huge slabs of brown flinty looking stone forming a chamber; two for sides, one for back, and a cover over all which measured eleven feet by six and about four feet high. Mr. Finn considered them to be of Pagan origin, and that they were altars.* This view has been adopted by Captain Conder, who finds that they are connected with sacred centres and with stone circles, and he shows how, in placing an offering on the top slab or lintel, the offerer must face east, as most of the cromlechs occur on the west of the circle. Some have supposed the last half of the word cromlech to be identical with the Hebrew לִיָּטֶחַ *liyah*, "tablet" or "slab." It is interesting to observe that the cromlechs found by Captain Conder are mostly placed on the live rock. He also finds holes often excavated in the live rock close to the cromlechs, as also a similar hole in the top slab, probably to receive the live embers (charcoal) for kindling the sacrifice. Various passages of Holy Scripture come to mind in reading these things, and first in importance are the numerous references to the rock נֶזֶר as an emblem of God (see Deut. xxxii, 4; and xxx, xxxi; and 1 Cor. x, 1 and many other passages).

Moses speaks of the heathen gods: "Their rock is not as our rock." Deut. xxxii, 31. Again, God forbade hewn blocks or slabs to be used in building His altar, Ex. xx, 25. The very altars were to be different. It is interesting to notice that Manoah placed his altar upon a rock, Judges, xiii, 19. And the connection of the great rock on Moriah with the temple and the altar is very interesting. The rugged simplicity

* See also "Byways," p. 283, for the account of a remarkable rude stone monument between Tyre and Sidon.

that venerable rock still bears testimony to the obedience of the Hebrew people to the law of Moses. It was left unhewn, though, but the base foundation of the temple and altar. The Bedaween told Captain Conder that the cromlechs are called "Beit el Ghul," "ghouls' house," *i.e.*, demons. Compare this with the statement of Moses in the chapter above quoted, Deut. xxxii, where the rock of Israel is contrasted with the heathen "no—gods" in verse 17. They sacrificed unto devils, that is, demons. St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x, evidently has these passages in his mind, when he speaks of the rock, v. 1, and in v. 20, "the Gentiles sacrifice to devils (*δαίμονα*), not to God." The word used here is the same as used in the Septuagint, Deut. xxx, 11–17, and signifies, like the Arabic "ghoul," a malignant demon. The Arab tradition has preserved for us the allusion to ancient customs older than the days when Deuteronomy was written by Moses on the eastern side of Jordan, where these altars not "*overthrown*" by Israel still exist.

E. A. FINN.

THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.

JERUSALEM, *January, 18, 1882.*

Having visited to-day, under the guidance of Sheikh Rashid, El Muntâr, I am able to confirm what is said by Captain Conder in the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 206.

The distance from Jerusalem, the grand view of Jerusalem, the expanse of country spread out before one, the strange character of the mountain (on the one side rolling in rich folds of pasture grounds tenanted by numberless flocks, on the other, bleak, bare, chill, and precipitous), the accordance of the nomenclature, all these things make one believe that this *must* be the "mountain of the scape goat."

I do not know whether Captain Conder has called attention to the large cistern on the top of the mountain, to the fragmentary pieces of mosaic pavement, or to the traces of walls and other buildings.

One thinks generally that not much may be done on a winter day. But this morning—with its heavy clouds massing over and then drifting away from Jerusalem, and the many bursts of sunshine bringing out every detail,—Bethlehem, Beit Jâla, the Hill of Evil Counsel, Zion, Moriah, the Mount of Olives, &c., were lighted up in a marvellous manner.

The view to the north-east was very cloudy, but the view of the Dead Sea and the desert country of Judah was magnificent!

C. PICKERING CLARKE.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Firman promised has not yet been signed, and early in June Captain Conder brought home his party, and the materials which he has accumulated during the fourteen months' campaign. He estimates that it will take him five months of steady work to get these materials in order for publication.

They consist of the Map of 500 square miles, the field books, note-books, rough drawings, photographs, special plans, descriptions, and observations. All these things were laid before the General Committee at their meeting on June 27th.

The Map is drawn on the same scale as the great Map of Western Palestine, namely, one inch to the mile, and the "Memoirs" are even more full and detailed than those made for the other side. It is in contemplation to proceed at once with the reduction and engraving of the work for the small Map.

Captain Conder was invited to accompany the Princes on their tour through the Holy Land. They were enabled to visit the Mosque of Hebron, of which Captain Conder drew a plan. The Princes visited the East of the Jordan, and travelled through the whole length of the country to Beyrout. Captain Conder is engaged upon a Report of this journey for the Prince of Wales.

As regards the future work, it must be understood that the exploration of Eastern Palestine is not abandoned, but only postponed. The maintenance of the party proved, as was anticipated, a very severe strain on the resources of the Society, and the Committee earnestly entreat their supporters to continue their subscriptions, in order that funds may be accumulated. In the present excited state of the East, it is as well that the party should be withdrawn.

Political significance, which it is desirable to avoid, might be attached to the presence of two English officers.

The second volume of "Memoirs" has been placed in the hands of the subscribers. The proofs of the third volume are with Captain Conder, and the illustrations are nearly ready: this volume will be ready in the autumn. It will be closely followed by Canon Tristram's work.

There are a few copies left, which the Committee are very desirous of placing in public libraries. They would be very much obliged if readers of the *Quarterly Statement* would send them names of libraries. A circular has been prepared giving full particulars of the work and its cost, which can be forwarded to any one on application.

Mr. Saunders's beautiful sections of the country, viz.: one from north to south, and four from east to west, have been laid down on two sheets, so that they can be had separately if desired. They are also laid down on his "Water-Basin" Map. The price of the sheets is 1s. 6d. each. The Jerusalem sheet of the great Map can also be had separately, at half-a-crown.

The income of the Society from all sources, from March to June, 1882, was £554 19s. 7d. The amount in the Banks on June 27th, the day of the meeting of General Committee, was £224 16s. 9d.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF THE BIBLE.

It has already been suggested by Sepp that many of the monuments mentioned in the Old Testament resembled the rude stone monuments which have lately been attracting attention in Palestine. The following note is merely offered as a suggestion subject to criticism.

Genesis xxviii, 11. Jacob comes to a certain Makom or "place" called Bethel ("the house of God"), probably known to him in the morning by the remains of Abraham's altar (xiii, 4), and here he erects a pillar (מִצְבֵּה) and anoints it. It consisted of a single stone set up, and seems clearly to have been a menhir. The custom of anointing such stones was common to the Phœnicians, and the recent discovery of cup-hollows in the menhirs beyond Jordan is very interesting in this connection (cf. xxxv, 14). After renewed visits to Bethel I have, however, been unable to find any remains of menhirs or cromlechs at the site.

Genesis xxxiii, 20. Jacob erects an altar in the patch of ground near the well which he dug in Shechem. There was apparently near the same spot an oak under which Jacob buried the Teraphim (xxxv, 4). This is afterwards mentioned as the oak of the pillar erected by Joshua (Josh. xxiv, 26) by the Holy Place of Jehovah (cf. Judges ix, 37, "the enchanter's oak"). According to Jerome the site should be placed at Balâta, the spring near Jacob's Well, but no remains of any rude stone monument have as yet been found (cf. Judges ix, 6).

Genesis xxxi, 45. Jacob sets up a pillar at Mizpeh of Gilead, and this is surrounded with a great heap (Galeed) of stones. Similar cairns have been described in my report on the rude stone monuments of Moab, where the custom of throwing stones at a menhir is noticed. The site of Mizpeh is not yet known, but the cairn may very probably remain. The heap was called "witness," which connects it with other monuments to be mentioned later.

Genesis xxxv, 20. Jacob erects a pillar over Rachel's Tomb. The practice of placing a menhir at a tomb-head is ancient in India, and survives probably in the head-stones of Christian and Moslem tombs alike.

Exodus xxiv, 4. Moses builds under Sinai an altar, and erects twelve pillars, apparently as a cromlech or circle of menhirs. No traces of this appear to have been as yet found in Sinai.

Numbers xxiii. The altars erected by Balaam have been fully noticed in a former paper.

Deuteronomy xii, 3. The Israelites are commanded to "overthrow" the altars, to break the pillars of the Canaanites. This would apply exactly to the destruction of dolmens and menhirs which appears to have occurred in Western Palestine.

Deuteronomy xxvii, 6, and Exodus xx, 25. The altars of Jehovah were to be built of whole stones unhewn, or of earth. It seems not improbable that the earlier altars may have been similar to the dolmens and tells still existing; but according to the Talmud, the Jerusalem altar was formed of a sort of concrete of pebbles in mortar.

Deuteronomy xxvi, 14, and Psalm cvi, 28. "The offerings to the dead" here referred to were often made in Egyptian tombs. The small offerings, on the lintels of tombs east of Jordan, have been mentioned in former reports, and such offerings are found throughout Palestine on sacred tombs. The connection with the worship of Baal Peor in the Psalm agrees with the close connection which is observed in the rude stone monuments between tombs and altars. In some cases it is apparently clear that the dolmens were not tombs, but in India similar monuments have been discovered which are certainly sepulchres. The sacredness of the tombs of venerated ancestors probably explains the connection.

Deuteronomy xxvii, 2. Great stones plastered over were to be set up and inscribed with the words of the Law on Mount Ebal beside an altar of Jehovah. This was done (Josh. viii, 31), and in Egypt also similar inscriptions on plaster have been found. The altar with the inscribed cippi may perhaps have formed a circle or enclosure not unlike Stonehenge. Such a circle is said to exist to the present day in Wâdy Wâleh, and the one at el Mareighât has been described in a former report.

Joshua iv, 9. The twelve stones from Jordan were "set up" at Gilgal. The name Gilgal signifies a circle, and it seems indisputable that a circle of menhirs is intended. There was another Gilgal in the hills near Bethel and a third in the Philistine plain. A place called Jileijil also exists east of Gerizim, and probably marks the site of another ancient Gilgal. It seems probable that circles of stones existed at one time in all these places.

Joshua viii, 20. The body of the King of Ai was covered with a great cairn. This practice is still observed, large cairns being erected over those slain in battle in Moab (as also in England in pre-historic times). It seems possible that the great stone heap of *et Tell*, near the site of Ai, may be the very cairn intended in the present instance.

Joshua xxii, 11. The altar Ed, built by the trans-Jordanic tribes, was, according to Josephus, east of the river. It is remarkable that a great group of dolmens exists at the foot of the eastern mountains, just south of the Jabbok, on the main road from Nablus to Salt. These have not yet been visited by the Survey party, but are described by Irby and Mangles. It is perhaps to one of these that the episode refers, as the Israelites were returning from Shiloh to Mount Gilead, and erected their monument "over against the land of Canaan in the borders of Jordan at the passage of the children of Israel." Similar "witnesses" are still erected by the Arabs (as often mentioned in former reports) wherever a sacred place first comes in sight of the pilgrim.

Judges vi, 26, and xiii, 19. An altar built on a rock and a rock used as an altar are mentioned in these two passages. The occurrence of cup-

shaped hollows in rocks, proper for such libations as are mentioned in the latter passage is instructive. The Sakhrāh at Jerusalem and that on Mount Gerizim seem to be instances of such rock altars.

1 Samuel vi, 14. The great stone in the field of Joshua the Beth-Shemite on which the ark was placed remained as an *Ed* (rendered "unto" in A.V., verse 18), or menhir afterwards.

1 Samuel vii, 12. The stone Ebenezer was placed by Samuel as a monument of victory.

1 Samuel xiii, 3 and 23 ; xiv, 1, 4, 6. The word rendered "garrison" is, with only a change of points, the same (בִּצְבֹדָה), rendered "pillar" in some passages and "image" in others (Hosea iii, 4). Jonathan "smote the pillar," which was perhaps a cippus to mark the Philistine boundary, and at the same time a sacred stone, and for this desecration Israel was "had in abomination with the Philistines." The pillar seems to have been then removed, and Jonathan crossed over to overthrow it a second time.

1 Samuel xiv, 33. Saul uses a great stone as an altar on which sheep and oxen are slain.

1 Samuel xv, 12. Saul sets up a place, literally a "hand." With this must be compared 2 Samuel xviii, 18, where Absalom's place or "hand" is called a pillar. The word for pillar is בִּצְבֹדָה, i.e., an upright thing, not עֲמֻדָה or column, and it seems evident that a memorial menhir is intended.

1 Samuel xx, 19. The stone Ezel was probably another of these monuments. It appears to have been connected with a cairn, since the words "out of a place towards the south" (v. 41), are more correctly "out of the stone heap" (Argab). Perhaps David had hidden inside a cromlech or dolmen covered by a cairn.

1 Kings xii, 27. The altars of the Golden Calves at Bethel and at Dan were set up by Jeroboam, but there is no notice of any temples having been built in connection with them. Bethel was an old sanctuary, and it seems therefore probable that Dan may have been a former centre of worship. A striking discovery in connection with this episode will be noticed fully in a future report.

1 Kings xviii, 31. Elijah builds an altar of twelve stones, but their arrangement is not specially described.

2 Kings xxiii, 17. "What pillar (A.V. 'title') is that that I see?" Josiah was overturning the idolatrous altars and emblems at Bethel, and the monumental pillar over the grave of the prophet attracted his attention. This is an interesting instance of the connection between pillars which were objects of idolatrous worship, and which the Israelites overthrew, and similar pillars used as head-stones to tombs.

In Isaiah (lxv, 11) the "table for Gad" (or Jupiter), and the "drink offering of Meni" (probably Venus), are mentioned. It seems probable that a dolmen altar may be intended, while the libation would have been poured on the rock, or the table-stone, into a cup-shaped hollow such as have been described in my report on the Moabite dolmens.

An expression in Hosea (xii, 11) seems to be also well explained by referring it to the dolmen altars. "Their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the field." The appropriateness of the simile will strike any one who has seen a field of fallen dolmens and compares it with the heaps of stones collected for clearing the land in any part of Palestine. The great number of the altars at one site seems to be indicated clearly.

The deductions which it seems legitimate to draw from the above passages appear to be.

1st. That Dolmen altars, menhirs, both idolatrous and sepulchral, stone circles and cairns of stone, monumental and sepulchral, are all mentioned in the Old Testament, and probably resembled those which occur in Galilee and beyond Jordan. These monuments form a connecting link between those found in Europe and those of Eastern Asia. They are also similar to monuments discovered by Professor Palmer in the Sinaitic peninsula, and by Palgrave in Arabia, notably with the great cromlech of Darim in the Nejed, the pillar-stones of which are 15 feet high.

2nd. No difference appears to have existed between the monuments used by the Canaanites and those erected by the early patriarchs, by Moses, Joshua, and Samuel. The consecration to a Canaanite deity, and the cruel and obscene character of the worship connected with the Canaanite shrines, was the cause of the destruction of the altars found existing by the Israelites, which were superseded by monuments of very similar character, dedicated on appointed sites to Jehovah; and these were in turn superseded by the Temple and Altar of Jerusalem, before the erection of which the worship in high places, such as Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Carmel was lawful, according to the Mishna.

3rd. Some of the monuments thus noticed in the Old Testament may perhaps be recognised as existing at the present time, but in other cases they have entirely disappeared, as notably at Gilgal and Bethel.

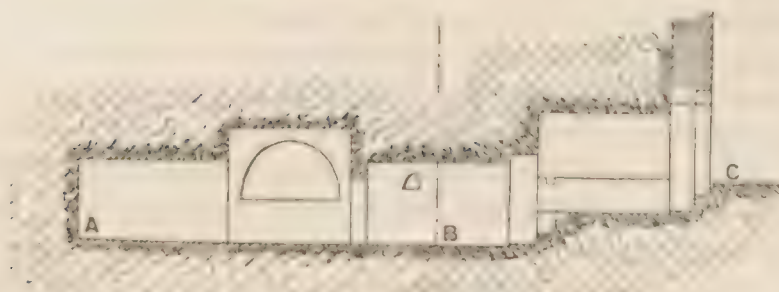
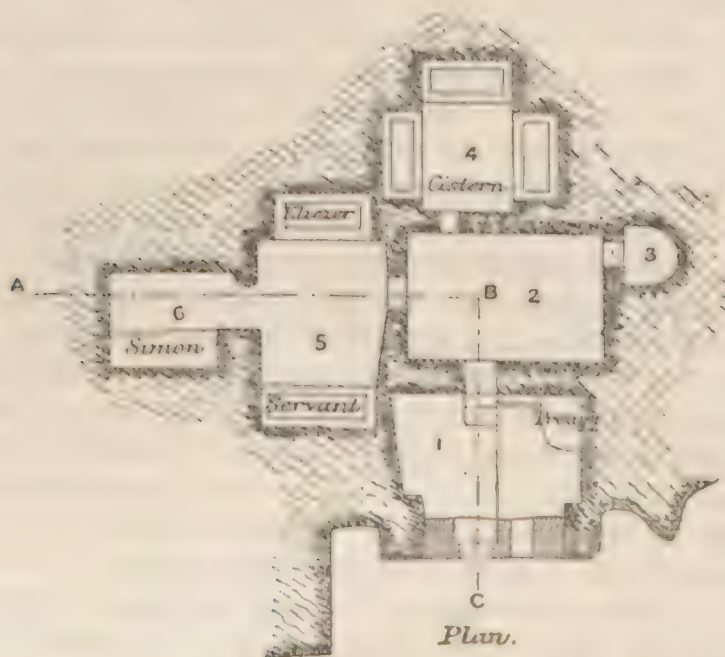
C. R. C.

JEWISH TRADITIONS IN JERUSALEM.

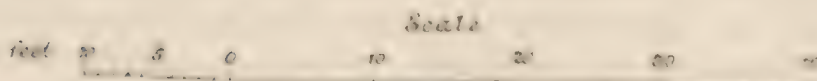
THE ancient nomenclature of Jerusalem, according to the traditions of the Jewish population, which has never been entirely banished from the Holy City, presents many points of great interest. The most important of these—the identification of the hillock in which is the so-called grotto of Jeremiah (a name only as old as the 15th century), with the Beth-has-Sekilah, or "place of stoning," has already been published in "Tent Work in Palestine," and it appears to be a very widely recognised tradition among the German and Mughrabi Jews alike.

On the 21st March, with Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., I visited the tradi-

tional tomb of Simon the Just, of which we have now made a plan. This tomb is in Wady el Jöz, east of the Nablus road. It is mentioned in Finn's "Byeways," and the annual visit paid to it by the Jerusalem Jews is there noticed. "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias (Eccles. i, 1), was one of the famous successors of Ezra, and chief of the 'Great Sanhedrin.'" He is said to have gone to Antipatris to meet Alexander the Great (Tal. Bab. Yoma, 69*a*), and was high priest for forty years. The beautiful story of



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TOMB OF SIMON THE JUST.

his last entrance into the Holy of Holies, when the white apparition failed to meet him as usual, is well known. He ranks among the most venerated of Jewish worthies. Curiously enough, Josephus gives the name of Jaddua instead of Simon, as that of the high priest at the time of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem.

The tomb is rock-cut, but a wall has been built in modern times across

the entrance to the porch, and an iron door put up, with a small barred window on one side. This door is kept locked, and the key was brought us by a Spanish Jew through the kindness of Dr. Chaplin.

The façade is carefully white-washed; within is the antechamber, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the present surface of the outer ground. A small cistern is cut in the rock bench to the right, and a channel leads thence, round the walls of the next inmost chamber (No. 2), to a hole in the wall communicating with another chamber (No. 4), which was originally a tomb, with three loculi under arcosolia, but is now used as a cistern with a depth of some 3 feet of water. There is no spring, but the surface-water from the rocks is collected in this manner. The second chamber (No. 2) has a single grave on the east (No. 3), and an entrance on the west to the fourth chamber (No. 5): the level is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the antechamber. The fourth chamber has two loculi, that on the north being the supposed tomb of Eliezer, son of Simon the Just, that on the south the grave of his servant. A small wooden table stood in this chamber. On the west a door leads to the furthest chamber (No. 6), where is the grave of Simon himself on the south side. It is apparently only a bench built up of small rough stones; but these may cover a real rock-cut sarcophagus. A large vessel of oil was placed on it, in which floated many lighted wicks. I noticed a great many small stones piled in the loculus of Eliezer, probably memorials of visits to the shrine, like the *Meshâhed* of the Moslem peasantry.

The Jews next took us some 200 yards eastwards to a quarry facing northwards. This they assured us was the school and synagogue where Simon the Just used to teach and pray. The tradition has, however, probably little or no value.

The tradition of Simon's tomb is at least three and a-half centuries old, but there is, so far as I know, no mention of it in mediæval Jewish travels before the year 1537 A.D., when it is noticed in the *Zichus ha Aboth*.

The monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, commonly called the "Tombs of the Kings," is known to the Jews as *Kalba Shebua*,* "the gorged dog." The tradition is that a very rich man lived here, who used to feed all the dogs in Jerusalem. This worthy is mentioned in the Talmud (*Tal. Bab. Gittin*, 56*a*), as having wished to provide Jerusalem with wine, vinegar, and oil during the last siege (*Neubauer's Geog. Tal.*, p. 137). I believe that M. de Saulcy mentions this tradition, which I have heard independently from a Spanish Jew. De Saulcy also discovered the Sarcophagus of the "Princess Sara," mentioned by M. Clermont Gamneau as possibly representing that of Queen Helena; and remains of the stèle, which, according to Pausanias, stood above Helena's tomb, have been excavated some years since at this same site.

The well known "Tomb of the Judges" is called by the Jews "Tomb of the Seventy," who appear to have been members of the Great Sanhedrin. The tomb is generally supposed to belong to the Hasmonean period,

* *Kalba Shebua* seems to have been a mythical character. R. Akiba, who died 135 A.D., is said to have married his daughter (*Tal. Jer Ketuboth*, 63*a*).

which would perhaps allow of its having been the sepulchre of members of the Sanhedrin. The Judges mentioned in the Bible were buried each in the territory of his own tribe. The tradition connecting this tomb with the Sanhedrin, is mentioned as early as 1537 A.D.

C. R. C.

JEWISH SUPERSTITIONS.

It is well known that superstitions not based on the law of Moses are very firmly credited by the more ignorant of the Polish and other Ashkenazi Jews. Some of these, which are common among the Jerusalem Jews, may be noted, including the nail-parings, the blessing of the moon, the subterranean journey to the valley of Jehoshaphat, the Hand of Might, the Tashlich, etc. A volume of very curious information might be composed on Syrian superstitions, and I hope to collect some scattered notes on the subject, and to indicate the construction with older sources of superstition, when circumstances permit.

The English superstitions regarding the days on which it is lucky or unlucky to pare one's nails seem to be of Jewish origin. The very order in which the nails should be cut is detailed in the Cabbala, and the Friday is prescribed, but Thursday forbidden in order that the nails themselves may not break the Sabbath law by beginning to grow on the Sabbath. The parings are to be burnt or concealed, not thrown on the ground, as, if they chanced to be stepped over by a woman, it might bring her mischance. The Jewesses are careful to hide the nail-parings in cracks of the house walls, but it is said that they sometimes put them into puddings intended to be eaten by their husbands, in order to increase the affection of the latter. They put hair from their heads into puddings for the same reason. The Talmud notices the harm which may be done by leaving nail-parings on the ground (*Tal. Bab. Moed Katan, 18a*).

The blessing of the moon is a curious custom very much reminding the observer of moon worship. According to the Cabbala, it is only to take place when the moon is at least seven days old, and must be observed once a month in the open air. The worshipper about to sanctify the new moon is to stand, with one foot on the other, to give one glance at the moon, and then to bless in the name of the Holy One, of His Shekinah, and of the Hidden One (a Cabbalistic Trinity). The form of prayer commences "Blessed be thy Former, blessed be thy Maker, blessed be thy Possessor, blessed be thy Creator." After meditation the worshipper is to skip three times, pronouncing the words "Fear and dread shall fall upon them, by the greatness of thy arm they shall be as still as a stone," repeated thrice, and thrice backwards; next he pronounces loudly, "David, the King of Israel, liveth and existeth," and then salutes his neighbour.

This ceremony I once saw being performed, by a Polish Jew, on a house-top in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, and was hardly able to believe my own eyes, so closely did it seem to me to approach moon worship. Further investigation, however, serves to explain the meaning of the performance. The standing in contemplation with one foot on the other is also observable among Derwishes.

The superstition that it is unlucky to see the new moon first through glass, common in Europe, is perhaps connected with the fact, mentioned in the Mishnah, that the evidence of a witness was not taken as to the appearance of the new moon, if he first saw it through glass or in water.

The Jews are apparently ashamed of such superstitions, and it is very difficult to obtain information on the subject. There can be little doubt, however, that the reason why many Jews wish to be buried on the Mount of Olives, is that they dread the subterranean journey (cf. *Tal. Bab. Ketuboth*, 111*a*), which they suppose the body must perform on the day of judgment from the place of burial to Jerusalem. In Poland it is said the Jews place small wooden forks in the graves to assist the dead man to dig his way. This curious idea is probably connected with the old Egyptian belief in the journey of the soul, as set forth in the "Book of the Dead."

The "Hand of Might" is a mark found commonly on Jewish (and sometimes on Moslem) houses, often elaborately sculptured. It brings good luck to the house. The mediæval talisman, called "the hand of glory," has no doubt a common origin. The Jewish wedding-ring in Jerusalem is in the form of a hand (as Dr. Chaplin informs me), and small glass hands are used as charms. In India the hand is the symbol of Siva, and indeed to write its history requires a volume by itself. It is interesting, however, to find this widely spread superstition also believed by the Jews.

The Tashlich, or ceremony of casting the sins of the individual into running water on new year's day (supposed to be supported by the words of *Micah* vii, 19), is strongly condemned by the cultivated Jews of Europe. I have not been able to find whether it is observed in Palestine, where water is scarce.

The mythology of the Talmud would form a rich treat to students, could it be extracted from the the crabbed Talmudic dialect. Many of the famous fables, which are common property of the Asiatic races, are to be found, with a Jewish moral attached, in the Babylonian Talmud. Among others the story of the man with two wives, which I have noted as existing among the Arabs east of Jordan, is applied in the Gemara (*Tal. Bab., Baba Kama*, 60*b*) to the two divisions of the Talmud which are mutually opposed, the Halacha or practical, and the Haggadah or poetical commentary.

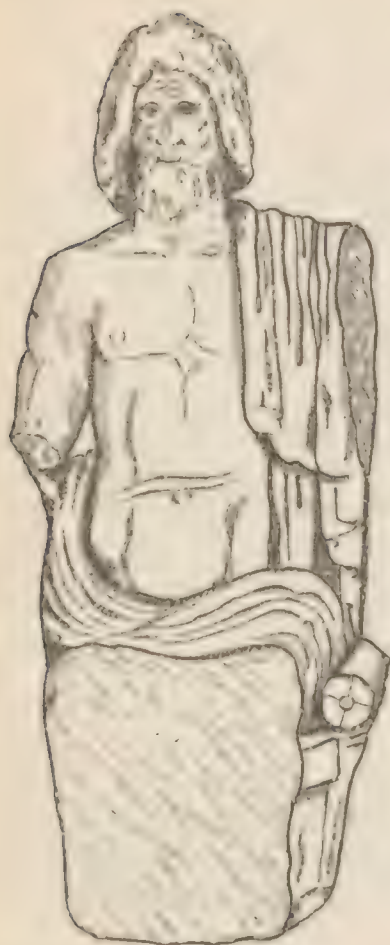
C. R. C.

NOTES FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

I took advantage of my late stay in Constantinople to visit the Museum with a view of ascertaining what antiquities may be stored there which came from Syria. The director, Hamdi Bey, a distinguished artist, only lately appointed to the post, is actively employed in cataloguing and arranging the collection, which is far larger and more valuable than I had supposed. He received me with great courtesy, but was, unfortunately, not able to give much information, as he was as yet very little informed as to the contents of the Museum. His predecessor appears to have left everything in confusion. There is as yet no catalogue, and the objects are not marked, nor is it known in most cases where they were found. The coins are now being arranged and classed, but the statues, inscriptions, and bas reliefs are only very roughly divided out as Roman, Assyrian, and Egyptian. It appears that the pottery and many of the metallic articles have only been catalogued by *weight*—"ten pounds Cyprus pottery," or "twenty tons bronze statues," etc., etc., a method which perhaps is scarcely sufficient to mark the difference of value between the various objects. An attempt was however made a few years ago to classify the broken statues by placing all the legs in one case, the heads in a second, the arms in a third, etc., but this appears to have led to some uncertainty in the end as to the parts which together made up the original statue.

The only antiquities which I was able to recognise were the famous Hamath stones and the great statue from Gaza. The former were classed as Assyrian antiquities. I found no other Hittite inscriptions, and the Gezer stones were not in the Museum, so far as I could learn, nor was any one among the officials aware of their existence, although they were seized by the Governor of Jerusalem in 1874. Hamdi Bey had heard of the Siloam inscription, of which he was anxious to obtain a copy. He complained greatly of the way in which the regulations concerning antiquities were disregarded by explorers, and I had great satisfaction in explaining to him that the Society by which I was sent out had never transgressed in this respect since the regulations were first promulgated in 1874.

The Gaza Jupiter. This great statue was discovered, in 1880, by the natives at Tell 'Ajjûl south of Gaza, and we owe its preservation to the exertions of the Rev. W. Shapira, the missionary. The Arabs had at once commenced to break up the statue, and had succeeded in greatly damaging the face. Mr. Shapira persuaded the governor to set a guard over the place, and the antiquarians of Palestine owe him a debt of gratitude for having prevented the entire destruction of this unique monument. A paper descriptive of the statue will be found in the *Quarterly Statement*, with the measurement of its principal proportions. I now send a copy of the sketch which I have just made from the



original in the porch of the Musæum. The suggestion which I ventured to make at the time seems to me to be fully borne out, and there can, I imagine, be little doubt that the figure is intended for a Jupiter. The principal deity of Gaza was called Marna (*i.e.*, מרנא "our Lord"), and was worshipped as late as the fifth century A.D. (Epiphanius *Adv Hæret*). He was a deity who controlled the rain, and his temple was destroyed by St. Porphyrius (*Acta Sanct*). According to Lenormant he was a god similar to the Cretan Jupiter and the Phœnician Eshmun—the chief among a group of seven or eight deities (*"Lettres Assyriologiques,"* Vol. II, Letter V, p. 165, *seq.*). These seven *Cabiri* or "great ones" appear to have all had temples in Gaza. That of Marna, destroyed by the Christians, was round, with two outer porches or circles—a kind of Druidical circle perhaps. His other titles were "the living," "the eternal," "the universal," "the everlasting." It seems probable that the statue at Constantinople may be that of the Jupiter Marna of Gaza. The nose and face have

been damaged, but the arrangement of the hair reminds one of the classic Jupiter. The right arm is broken above the elbow, the left appears to have been sawn off. The figure was seated on a bench, but the legs have also apparently been sawn off in front. These mutilations had been, I believe, effected before the statue was discovered, and it seemed to me possible that the pious pagans may have buried their Jupiter to save him from the Christians, and may have been obliged to divide it for facility of transport. Excavations should certainly be made at Tell 'Ajjûl, as the rest of the statue may yet remain buried as well as the Venus of Tetramphodos, a place apparently in Gaza itself. A curious tradition of buried treasure, and of a phantom calf which guards it, exists at Tell 'Ajjûl ("the calf's mound"), and it is perhaps possible that a temple stood on the hillock.

Sta Sophia. I also paid a visit to this famous church of "Holy Wisdom" founded by Constantine, and built by Justinian, and was shown the curious hand mark on the wall and the "sweating pillar," with a hole in the marble about the depth of a finger. It seems to have been made by innumerable pilgrims putting their fingers into the crack in the metal covering, to feel the supposed perspiration of the marble. No doubt this sacred mark is to be classed with the finger mark of Gabriel at Jerusalem, and other much venerated prints on rocks. I found the

flagging of the upper galleries covered with Greek mason's marks, such as I have never seen except here and at Baalbek ; some of these marks were single letters, but others seemed worth attention for comparison with the marks which I have noticed on pillars at Ascalon and at 'Ammân. They are as given below.



The second, if turned upside down, is just like a ligatured Phœnician inscription.

But another observation of greater interest referred to the wooden beam which runs from pillar to pillar in the upper order of columns. I have had occasion to mention this as an Arab architectural feature, and at first supposed that the beams in this case also had been added by Moslem restorers of the church. The beam is not structural, but affords an additional brace to the pillars, and spans the round arches just as it does in the mosques at Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo. I found, however, finally, that one of these beams is ornamented with well cut Greek crosses, in relief, evidently the work of Byzantine masons. Mr. Fergusson will no doubt welcome this little fact (unless he has previously himself observed it) as confirming his views of the Christian origin of the Dome of the Rock. It would, however, be interesting to know whether Byzantines and Arabs alike may not have borrowed this kind of tie-bar from Sassanian architects.

I also observed a very peculiar cross, with various devices at the ends of its arms, occurring on some of the capitals. This cross is exactly like one which we have recently found in a Byzantine ruin in Moab.

The old walls of Stamboul are built of moderate square masonry, in courses alternating with one or more courses of flat bricks. The original work is Byzantine, and the structure has been adopted by the Venetians and later restorers of the walls. This structure we have never found in Palestine, but I found a fragment of wall so built at Kadesh, and the present observation seems to confirm the impression I then obtained that the ruin in question was part of the Roman town of Laodicea, which rose on the ruins of the older site of *Kedes*.

C. R. C.

NOTES ON MR. TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS'S INTRODUCTION.

THE Surveyors of Western Palestine owe their best thanks to Mr. T. Saunders for the appreciation and discriminating praise which he bestows on their work. Criticism from a geographer so well acquainted with the

preceding maps of Palestine, is the best test which could be applied to the work. I hope, therefore, it will not appear ungracious if I attempt a reply to one or two pieces of criticism in the "Introduction." I must also express my regret at the numerous printer's errors, which appear to have arisen from the indistinctness of the photo-lithographic reproduction of our MSS. maps. Several of these have also found their way into the corrected index of the Introduction, and should be revised in a future edition.

Aneroid heights (pp. 21, 176, 179). These were collected according to the names, as it was found impracticable to fix the exact points to which they should be written in cases where no name or special object of detail is shown. They were all calculated by Mr. Armstrong, under my direction, in 1877, but a certain proportion were judged to be below the standard, and not good enough to insert on the map. This is specially the case in Galilee. One of Lieut. Kitchener's aneroid barometers appears to have got out of order; unfortunately this was not discovered by his field party in 1877, and we were obliged to condemn the whole of the observations taken with this particular instrument (including his levels of the Hûleh Lake) after the observations had been calculated. We shall endeavour to fix the Hûleh level by vertical angle from the eastern shores.

The height, 136 feet at Shefa 'Amr (p. 200), applies to the spring, not to the village (as is clearly shown on the map). The village stands on a hill, as described in the Memoirs. This height is settled by numerous observations. I think the aneroid heights on the map may be relied on within 20 or 30 feet, and a comparison with some of Colonel Warren's observations confirms this calculation. The level marks are fixed within six inches. The heights of the trigonometrical stations within two feet or three feet.

Nahr Rûbin (p. 46). It is true that this stream dries partly up, but a string of pools is left, as in the case of the Kishon, and it is therefore marked as perennial.

Kaukab el Hawa (p. 68). I have endeavoured to show in a previous *Quarterly*, that this name means "fortress of the gorge," which seems more probable than "star of the air."

Coabis (p. 70). I have tried to show in the Memoirs that this site is the present Mekhobly on the Roman road. *K'aûn* has not a single letter in common with Coabis.

Maiumas Ascalon (p. 141). An explanation of this name, and the discovery of a second inland Ascalon, were noted in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1875. There is another Ascalon north of Jerusalem, and it seemed to me that the famous Philistine city was called Maiumas, "the watering place," in contra-distinction to the inland town.

Geology (p. 144). I have completed a small reconnaissance map of the geology of Western Palestine, accompanied by sections of great interest, and detailed observations. Many parts of the country, especially round Carmel, are incorrectly described by M. Lartet, but we found his observations round the Dead Sea very valuable. The view suggested by

Lieut. Kitchener, and mentioned by Mr. Saunders, seems hardly supported by the facts now collected.

Megiddo (p. 159). Mr. Saunders does not seem to have known, when writing this passage, of the identifications proposed in support of my suggestion as to Megiddo, namely, *Beit Jenn* for Beth-haggan, *Yebta* for Ibleam, *Kâra* for Gur; and he remarks that these sites should occur in the vicinity of *Majâdda* if my view were correct. This is just what I have tried to show is the case.

The high mountain (p. 166). The tradition placing this at Quarantania seems quite modern. In the middle ages the latter was shown, not as the scene of the Temptation, but of the Fast of Forty Days, as the name also intimates. The mediæval scene of the Temptation was first recovered by the Survey party at the Osh el Ghurâb.

Dead Sea Shores (p. 170). The Survey outline is controlled by tangential lines from the trigonometrical stations; before these stations were fixed, it must have been almost impossible accurately to map the shores, and we found the indentations much exaggerated on the maps, which is the natural tendency in sketching, as the distances are foreshortened to the eye. We have found the same to be the case last year on the eastern shores.

Identifications. Mr. Saunders only alludes to a small percentage of the known sites mentioned in the Memoirs. I cannot help regretting that he should support what may I think be called the exploded theories as to Lachish, Kirjath Jearim, and Shihor Libnath. The site of Abu Gheith, which he proposes for Gath, cannot have been that of an important town. He also speaks of Lejjûn as if it were almost certainly the ancient Megiddo, although there is hardly an argument in favour of this view beyond the proximity to Taanach. An identification is merely a vague conjecture unless the ancient name can be proved still to exist. It was for this reason that I attributed to Mr. Selah Merrill the recovery of Succoth, as no previous writer seems to have recognised the value of the existing name. In the same way the name Haiyân was unknown to Robinson, though by a lucky conjecture he pitched on the site in question as representing Ai. I may, perhaps, be allowed to express the opinion that it is entirely a false supposition that the names of Hebrew towns have been *translated* into Arabic names having the same meaning though a different word. The tendency of the Fellahin is towards the preservation of the *sound* not of the *sense*, as can be proved by an overwhelming number of examples. With the exception of Tell-el-Kady I know of no well established instance of the converse being true, and even in this exceptional case the old name Dan appears to survive in the immediate vicinity. The identifications of Tubania, District, Geba of Horsemen, and Janum, I was, so far as I can find, the first to propose; it is not quite clear whether these have been independently fixed at the same spots by Mr. Saunders, but if this is the case the coincidence is very satisfactory. I am very glad to see that many of the proposed identifications which I have felt most confident in publishing have been adopted by Mr. Saunders.

Many others will be found in the pamphlet on "Biblical Gains," amounting to some 130 in all; but there are a great many Byzantine and Crusading identifications due to the Survey, which I have as yet only noticed in the *Memoirs*, where the authorities are given in full.

Valley Names (p. 163). Mr. Saunders notices a group of small valleys in the Ghor, some of which have names not marked on our map. It should be noted, however, that in many cases the name does occur, applied to a ruin, spring, or other object, in or near the valley as shown on the Survey. The surveyors who have worked with me (including Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake) have always been of the same opinion, that it was only the main water-courses of the country which have really distinct names of their own. Even these constantly change their names, along their courses, as may be seen on the map, and are called after the villages and ruins they pass. The small valleys have no real names at all. We have remarked, in the Bedawin districts especially, that there are *local titles*, generally taken from a ruin or remarkable feature, and applied to all the natural objects near it. Thus if a ruin is named Mushukker, we have 'Ain do., Jebel do., Wādy do., Sabel do., etc., all round it: and each traveller has perhaps collected one out of this group of half-a-dozen names, the only one of value being probably found at the ruin. Springs have often valuable names with traditions attached, but the names of hills and valleys, as a rule, are either purely descriptive, or else taken from the village, ruin, or spring. I have already written at length as to the fleeting "secondary nomenclature," as distinguished from the ancient and unchanging nomenclature of the ancient sites. These views are confirmed by our late experience, and although names of interest may have escaped the Survey party, or have been rejected as not resting on reliable evidence, the experience of our various revisions has been, that, unless a ruin had escaped notice, the additional names collected yielded nothing of any value.

I have, however, in the case of the names mentioned by Mr. Saunders examined the Map (Sheet XII), and subjoin the results of my investigation. It appears that our work agrees with that of Colonel Warren, but the nomenclature of M. Guérin cannot fairly be placed, I think, on an equal footing with that of the Survey, because it has evidently not been written down by an Arab scribe; while the hasty character of his journey would of course prevent his verifying the names which he has given. The names in question are as follows:—

NAMES COLLECTED BY COLONEL WARREN.

Sheet XII of Survey.

1. Wādy Umm Karuby. This is probably Wādy Umm Kharrûbeh, "valley mother of the locust tree," marked on the map, but not noticed by Mr. T. Saunders.
2. Wādy Umm Dahideh. "Valley mother of the flock of camels," a name not on the map; apparently not important.

3. Wâdy Shiyeh. Apparently for Wâdy Sh'aib. There were, unfortunately, some errors in the Arabic of Colonel Warren's list, as pointed out in former papers by M. Ganneau and by myself.
4. Wâdy Swaideh. Apparently named from Khûrbet Suweideh; shown on the Survey.
5. Wâdy S'aidiyeh. Proper name; the ford of S'aidiyeh, is marked on the map.
6. Wâdy Abu Jerad. "Valley father of locusts" (or perhaps "barren valley"), not named on the map.
7. Wâdy Belgod. The name Sidd el Belkawy occurs on the map near, applied to a cliff. This is probably the same; and Belgod cannot well be an Arabic word.
8. Wâdy Abu Hashish. "Valley father of grass." The cliff of Abu Hashish is marked on the map.
9. Wâdy Ghor. This seems improbable, especially as it has no article. It is probably not a real name. The Ghor is the whole basin.
10. Wâdy Abu Sidra. The form Wâdy Abu Sidreh, "Valley father of the lotus-tree," occurs on the map, and is more correct than Sidra.

Thus out of ten names only two are really omitted on the map, though the rest are written to the objects whence the valleys are named. The two omitted do not seem to have any particular value.

NAMES COLLECTED BY M. GUERIN.

(Sheet XV).

1. Wâdy Rhazal. This is the French spelling of Ghazal. A spring "Ain el Ghazal" (of the Gazelle) is marked on this part of the Survey map.
2. Wâdy es Seder. Wâdy Abu Sidreh occurs on the map, but not apparently in the same order. There are many lotus-trees in this district, whence probably the name.
3. Sath el Rhoula. Probably Sâdet el Ghuleh ("Ghoul's Cliff"), not on the Survey.
4. Khurbet el Bridje. Apparently "Ruin of the little tower." Two are marked on the Survey.
5. Wâdy es Sekaah. Apparently for Zôkah-Râs; Umm Zôkah here occurs on the Survey.
6. Hosh ez Zakkum. "The courtyard of the balsam-tree," apparently at Khûrbet Suweideh, whence the valley called Umm ed Deraï ez Zakkûm is shown descending on the map.
7. Wâdy en Nekeb. "Valley of the hollow," a name so common that it can hardly be called a local title.
8. Tell es Saidieh. Apparently out of place. The name occurs at a ford of Jordan near a tell a little further north.

9. Wâdy Asberra. This can hardly be an Arabic word. Probably some error has crept in. The name Sâdet et Ta'leb occurs here on the Survey, "cliff of the fox."
10. Wâdy Abu Sehban. This word also does not seem to be Arabic. The valley is called on the Survey Jûrat el Kutufi, "hollow of the St. John's wort"—a plant growing abundantly here.
11. Wâdy Kefr Anja. Unknown.
12. Wâdy ez Zarha. Apparently "broken valley." It is called Abu Hashîsh on the map; both names are of little value archæologically.
13. Wâdy el Eurkan. "Valley of cliffs." This like the preceding would apply to any of the little valleys hereabouts, as they all have low cliffs. It is called Abu Lôz on the map.
14. Siret el Maazeb. "Fold of the summer grazing place." These folds are marked (there are several). The peasantry from the villages use them in spring. This formidable looking name is consequently nothing beyond a description given by the guide of what the enclosure was used for.
15. Khurbet es Sîreh. "Ruin of the fold." See preceding.
16. Wâdy Abu Sedra. Sidreh on the map, which is a more correct way of spelling the word, as the final Aleph is very rare.

Out of these 16 names, therefore, only Nos. 3, 7, 9, 11, can be fairly considered to be omissions, and of these one seems to be a mistake, and the others unimportant; unless it be Kefr Anja—a name not noticed by any other traveller.

The above comparison seems to show how necessary it is, both for the explorer and the critic, to be acquainted with Arabic, and especially with the local Syrian dialect, which presents many peculiarities in the use of topographical terms, which may be studied in the Name Indexes now published. It also serves to illustrate the contention that the names of the smaller valleys, especially in Bedawin districts, have very little importance for the antiquarian. Several misprints occur on this page of Mr. Saunders's work, *e.g.*, Katurj for Katwy, and Taleh for T'aleb.

C. R. C.

NEW IDENTIFICATIONS.

Mount Baulah (Josh. xv, 11). A relic of this lost name may perhaps be recognised in the *Wâdy el Baghl* (the *gh* representing one of the two Arabic equivalents for the Hebrew 'Ain), which runs into the Valley of Sorek from the north, on the west of Zorah. The name appears to have applied to the Ekron ridge (see "Handbook to the Bible").

Bethsaida. Without entering into the controversy whether there were

one or two places so-called, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, it may be noted that the mediæval writers place the so-called Galilean Bethsaida at Minieh. The name of the little sacred place 'Aly es Seiyâd ("the fisher") may be a survival of this idea.

Be'er-Haïl (Midrash Koheleth vii, 7), the place to which Rabbi Johanan retired when the younger Gamaliel took charge of the school at Tannia. It appears to have been in the Philistine plain, and is perhaps represented by the modern village *Burcir* south-east of Ascalon.

C. R. C.

NOTES.

JERUSALEM, 15th March, 1882.

Kadesh on Orontes. Mr. Tomkins will not expect me to abandon so favourite a child as this, without a careful debate, and it is evident from the tone of his paper (*Quarterly Statement*, 1882, p. 47) that he is anxious to discuss the matter without prejudice. I am, however, obliged to wait until I can consult Lepsius, the Epic of Pentaur, and other authorities, before replying. I cannot but think, however, that the evidence in favour of our discovery will prove too strong, and that the north point on the famous Egyptian bas relief will have to be placed differently from his supposition. *A.B.*—I have, since writing this, consulted Lepsius and Rosellini, and the result seems to confirm my views as to Kadesh in a remarkable manner, as I hope shortly to show.

The Funeral Tablet. The interesting paper by Mr. Boscawen on this matter contains much fresh information. On reading Le Normant's "Magie," it seemed clear to me that the three figures on the right of the third division represented the soul escaping from the evil genii, who turn against one another, as described in the Accadian Magical Formulæ, a view which Mr. Boscawen has fully worked out. The two fish-deities seem to be similar in idea to the Egyptian figures of Isis and Nephtys, as represented standing at the head and feet of the mummies, and to the angel Munker and Nakir, whom Moslems believe to question the soul. The same belief is well known to have existed in the Mazdean faith, and the Persian story of the soul's trial, by its own thought, word, and deed, is one of the most beautiful fancies in the Zend-Avesta. Mr. Boscawen's notes do not seem to militate against the idea that the deities in the second row are the planetary genii, but these belong to Assyrian rather than Accadian mythology. I have referred in my original paper to M. Clermont Gamneau's previous description of the tablet, from which I obtained various valuable indications, which I hope I acknowledged sufficiently. M. Gamneau, however, promised a further paper on the subject to the "*Revue Archéologique*," and I am not aware whether this has ever been published. It is to be hoped that he will be able

to send it to the next *Quarterly Statement*. The tablet was not found in Phœnicia, so far as I understood, but the mythology of the Assyrians, Accadians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, has so much in common that it must be extremely difficult to distinguish the sources of the ideas forming the subject of the reliefs.

Rock Rimmon. I must leave the readers of the *Quarterly* to decide on Mr. Birch's arguments, which do not seem to me to dispose of the difficulty that 600 men cannot have lived in the cave which I have now carefully measured (*el Jâi*), and of which I have forwarded a plan. No such cave is mentioned in the Bible in connection with the Rock Rimmon, and there appears to be no tradition of any value for Biblical purposes at *el Jâi*. As to the meaning of the word *Sela* it is probably safer to follow Gesenius, even when Dean Stanley does not agree with this respected authority. The rest is matter of opinion, which those interested will be able to settle for themselves.

Sion. The views which I have briefly advocated in this matter seem to me to have the advantage that they allow of every one of the disputants being right. All writers have quoted Biblical texts in favour of their views, and it seems to me that if we admit that Sion was a poetical name for the "sunny hill" on which the Holy City stood, without endeavouring to limit the meaning of a term which seems employed differently by various Old Testament writers, we shall be able to do justice to the erudition of Robinson, Fergusson, Williams, Reland, and later writers alike.

Tyropæon. Some able writers have suggested a Hebrew origin for this name. Two explanations occurred to me while writing the Jerusalem article for the "Encyclopædia Britannica." First that the original form was (צֶרֶפָה) from a root occurring in the name Sarepta (now Sarafend), in Surif (which I have proposed as identical with the Sariphœa of the Church Histories, placed by Vandevelde at Safuriyeh), and in many other instances in Palestine. The root is connected with the idea of smelting silver, and is found in the Arabic *Sarf* ("to change," according to Freytag's Lexicon). It is now applied to "small change," *i.e.*, silver when given for gold. Now in Jerusalem, since the 8th century A.D. to the present day, the shops of the money-changers have been placed in the Tyropæon valley, along David Street, and round the Hospital of St. John. Bernard the Wise alludes to this, and part of the street in question is called by Mejr-ed-Dîn *Khân es Sarf*, possibly a preservation of the name Tyropæon down to the 16th century. I have not been able to ascertain if this name survives, but it is probably forgotten, for the street nomenclature of Jerusalem differs greatly from that in the time of Mejr-ed-Dîn, as appears on comparison of his account with Sir C. Wilson's map. The canon of "*immutability in oriental custom*," on which we may so often safely rest, would render it possible that the Jewish money-changers of the time of Josephus may have sat (only some 30 feet nearer the rock) on the very spot where their descendants now await their victims; and in this case the Tyropæon Valley was that not of the cheese-makers (who were probably only found in the pastoral districts far south), but of the "money-changers," who at times

encroached down its course within the very gates of the Temple, where according to the Talmud they erected booths in a specially allotted part of the area.

The second suggestion is that the name Tyropceon is derived from the Hebrew Teraphim (possibly from the Sanscrit *Sarpa*, whence also Tseraphim and our English "Serpent"). The Canaanites in general worshipped Teraphim down to a very late date, and the brazen serpent was worshipped in Jerusalem by the idolatrous kings.

I hope to show, in a further volume on Jerusalem, that the traditional Golgotha is neither more nor less than the site of the original temple of Venus, which Constantine found rebuilt, and from which the name *Kadesh* or *Kuds* came to be applied to Jerusalem; but yet more that this old temple of Ashtoreth was the Jebusite Sanctuary before David took Jerusalem, and round which the sepulchres of the kings were hewn, after the worship of Jehovah had consecrated the Temple Hill. This would be another instance of the immutability of sacred sites in the East. The name of the Teraphim, which would have belonged to the Jebusite Sanctuary, may have lingered in the valley beneath the knoll, with its sacred cave (the Chapel of Adam), now shown as the site of Calvary. Its signification may have been forgotten by the time of Josephus, and the Teraphim may have been converted into those yet greater magicians the money-changers.

These conjectures must be taken for what they are worth, as the subject cannot be fully worked out in a brief note, without reference to authorities.

Kirjath Jearim. The identification of this spot with the "nameless city" of Samuel (1 Sam. ix) appears to be extremely probable, on the grounds stated by Mr. Henderson, and the topography of this difficult episode seems to me best explained on the supposition of a tour north, west, south, east, and again north, from the starting point. Mr. Schick has lately identified the land of Shalem with the district of the Beni Sâlim, and although there is a difficulty in this, because of the guttural in the Hebrew, the idea is well worthy of consideration. The land of Shalisha seems to have lain further north-west (judging from the Onomasticon) in the direction of *Kefr Thilth* (the exact equivalent of Shalisha in Arabic), where are several places with names from the same root, meaning "three." This would lead Saul naturally through the western part of the land of Benjamin to Kirjath Jearim. So many sites have, however, been proposed for the latter place, that it must rank with Megiddo and Gibeah, on a much lower level than those numerous places concerning which controversy has been laid at rest. It is to be hoped that the general reader will not be liable to forget that a very large proportion of the discoveries made by the officers of the Society have been generally accepted by the critics, and that those now in dispute are connected with sites vaguely or incidentally mentioned in the Bible. It is a matter for hearty congratulation that the keenest critics whose notes appear in the *Quarterly Statement*, write with so much good feeling and such absence of rancour.

EASTER CEREMONIES OF THE WASHING OF FEET.

JERUSALEM, *Easter*, 1882.

Among the numerous ceremonies observed by the Christians in Jerusalem at Easter time, is that which commemorates Christ's washing the feet of His disciples, celebrated by both the Greeks and the Latins.

That of the Greeks took place on Thursday before Easter, as usual (the weather being fine), in the open air in the court before the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre Church. Before eight o'clock in the morning the Latin and Greek monasteries by which the court is surrounded on three sides were full of people anxious to get a good view. Every roof was lined with spectators, while the windows of the church which command the court on the north side were equally crowded. The minaret of the adjoining mosque, known to the Arabs as "the Mosque of Omar," was entirely occupied by Moslem women, while the court of the church itself was filled almost entirely by Russian pilgrims.

In the centre of the court a raised wooden platform had previously been erected, with a divan on three sides, for the accommodation of the Patriarch and priests. It was surrounded by an iron railing, supporting at the east end a cross flanked by two discs, an emblem belonging to the Greek Church. The platform was also guarded by a line of soldiers, who preserved an open space round it two or three paces in width, and lined the path as far as the entrance to the Greek monastery. A small platform had also been constructed abutting against the wall on the east of the court, and facing the principal platform in the centre. Immediately over it was the branch of a willow suspended by a rope from the roof of the monastery.

Shortly before nine o'clock an archimandrite appeared and mounted this small platform. He was soon followed by twelve other archimandrites preceding the Patriarch, the latter dressed in vestments sparkling with gold, silver, and precious stones, and bearing his official rod surmounted by a small silver cross above two venomous serpents, also of silver. There were slight differences in the vestments of the various archimandrites, but all wore a red and gold cope, with the usual black Greek cap. Six of these dignitaries carried candles.

The procession was followed by four or five priests in black copes, who were to act as assistants. When all except the first mentioned archimandrite had ascended to the large platform, the Patriarch took the principal seat on the central divan facing towards the east. At his feet were a gold ewer containing water, and a silver basin, which had been prepared before the commencement of the ceremony. Close to these were placed some of the candles which had been brought in the procession, and lastly a bouquet of flowers. The side divans were occupied by the archimandrites, one standing, when necessary, to hold the Patriarch's book. The assistant priests,

most of whom carried towels in the procession, did not sit down, but remained holding them.

After a pause of a few minutes, the Patriarch and those around him rose while he read a passage from the Holy Scriptures ; he then turned and blessed the crowd below, and descending by himself into the court, knelt alone in prayer. This was to symbolise Christ withdrawing Himself from the disciples on the day before the Crucifixion. At the same time the first noticed archimandrite alone on the small platform, chanted a solo.

The Patriarch, having finished his prayer, re-ascended the platform, and a number of towels were wrapped round his waist and over his shoulders. Water was poured out into the silver basin, and he proceeded to wash the feet of the archimandrites. The basin was placed by an assistant before each in turn. The Patriarch, kneeling, washed and wiped the feet, and stooped to kiss them. At the same time the archimandrite seized and kissed the hand of the Patriarch. During this ceremony considerable excitement spread through the crowd, who threw up numbers of towels, handkerchiefs, etc., to be dipped into the now sanctified water, and returned. This was done for them by the assistants, who sometimes also sprinkled the water over the crowd.

It now appeared that each of those whose feet were washed represented one particular disciple, and the representative of Peter requested that not only his feet, but also his hands and head, might be washed.

The ceremony of washing was completed in about ten minutes. The little water then left in the basin was poured over the bouquet of flowers already referred to as being on the platform, and the Patriarch took his seat once more on the divan. The representative of St. John approached him to ask who was destined to be the betrayer, and Judas then stood out in full view. The other archimandrites in turn came forward, and either repeated or read a few words to the Patriarch, and the ceremony, having lasted about an hour and a-quarter, closed with a short eloquent sermon from the occupant of the small platform, to whom the crowd listened attentively.

The procession then returned in the same order in which it had come, and awakened much enthusiasm. The Patriarch was separated from the rest, and at one time it seemed that the soldiers would hardly be able to bear him through the mob. He carried the flowers on which the holy water had been poured, and with this he sprinkled and blessed the crowds who pressed forward to touch him. The struggle lasted until he was carried into the Greek monastery, the crowds who had no chance of coming near him being obliged to content themselves with clapping their hands and singing.

The corresponding ceremony of the Latin rite took place, with somewhat less pomp, inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the afternoon of the same day. Long before the appointed hour the door of the church was besieged by an eager crowd. The Moslem custodians refused, however, to open it before the arrival of the Latin Patriarch. Even the French Consul, who attends in an official capacity all the ceremonies of his Church, was not allowed to enter.

At half-past two, on the arrival of the Patriarch, the doors were thrown open, and all the positions which commanded any view were at once occupied. The washing was to take place in front of the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, between the Chapel of the Angel and the Greek Church. Only a limited number of people assembled (perhaps because it was known that they would be locked in till 6 p.m.), but there were enough to make it difficult to approach the officiating priests. The congregation included a few Russian pilgrims.

A procession of about a dozen boys in red cassocks and white surplices, fifty priests, some wearing the white surplice, and lastly, the Latin Patriarch, in the vestments of his office, approached from the Latin sacristy, and took their seats; the Patriarch on a throne placed facing the tomb, and the priests on each side in several rows facing one another.

After a portion of Scripture had been read, the Patriarch kissed the missal, and was dressed with towels, while some water was poured out into a silver basin before him. There were thirteen men in the front row of benches, some being priests and some laymen, and of these the Patriarch washed the feet in just the same manner as is described above in the Greek ceremony. To each man, after washing his feet, he gave a small picture (some 6 inches by 4 inches) in a wooden frame, containing a representation of the cross, with an ornamental design of flowers on a white background. This was in most cases kissed by the recipient.

There was apparently no representation of the individual actions of each apostle.

After the washing more water was brought. The Patriarch washed his hands, and read some portions of Scripture. The service thus ended in about twenty minutes, and that of the Tenebræ at once commenced. The door of the church having only been opened for two minutes, we now found ourselves locked in. Prayers, chanting, and singing, continued till six o'clock, when the Patriarch gave the necessary order, and we were enabled to leave.

A. M. MANTELL, *Lieut., R.E.*

A ZIKR CEREMONY.

IN an inconspicuous building by the side of one of the back streets of Jerusalem, derwishes are in the habit of holding a religious ceremony, generally described by Europeans as "howling"—spoken of among the Arabs as a "Zikr." The sect whose rite I attended, are the followers of Sheikh Seyid el Bedawy, and in Jerusalem they hold the Zikr in a small mosque, rendered sacred to them by its containing the tomb of one of the most holy of their number—Sheikh 'Eed el Mughâribeh. On Sunday evening, some two hours after sunset, it usually takes place, and accordingly at about half past eight I was admitted into the court-yard in front of the

mosque. Some eight or ten men had already arrived, and were sitting smoking on carpets placed in the court-yard, waiting in almost absolute silence for the signal to commence. Through the low door of the mosque was just visible the *Mihráb*, or prayer recess, before which the pious Moslem stands five times a day during his devotions. The floor of the mosque was covered with straw matting, and immediately in front of the *Mihráb* a small piece of carpet had been placed for the principal sheikhs.

We had not been waiting long before six or eight of the derwishes entered the mosque, followed by attendants with drums and cymbals, and the ceremony commenced. Two sheikhs sat on the carpet alluded to above in front of the *Mihráb*. One of these wore a clean white turban, which was in strong contrast with his long black jubbeh, or cloak. The other, in a grey cloak, wore the green turban—a sign that he was one of the descendants of the prophet Mohammed, or that he had made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. A large drum was held by an assistant in front of these sheikhs while they repeated a short prayer. The assistant advanced one pace towards them, and they prayed a second time. He advanced once more, and they prayed the third and last time. This seemed to be an introduction to the *Zikr* itself, and after the third prayer, during which he knelt on one knee, the man who held the drum fell back behind the circle which the others had now formed. During these prayers it was noticeable that he stood with the right great toe pressed over the corresponding toe of the left foot, said to be an attitude of contemplation, the belief in which is shared by all sects of derwishes.

I now removed my shoes and entered the mosque to see better what was going on. The interior of the room was quite plain, with white-washed walls and roof. There was no pulpit. At the west end, however, a large tomb was visible—that of Sheikh 'Eed el Mugháribeh—covered with a green cloth, and ornamented with two flags. Some drums were hung on the walls near the tomb. A dim light was supplied by one solitary oil-lamp hung from the roof.

The *Zikr* now began in earnest, with the beating of drums and clashing of cymbals; of the latter there were three pairs, which were used in turn by different derwishes in the ring. Two of the drums, being large, were beaten by men standing up behind the ring; the remaining drum was much smaller, and could be managed by a performer who was sitting down. This music was exactly the same as that which is heard at time of the pilgrimage to the shrine of Moses, and on Mohammed's birthday, and other similar occasions. At intervals one or two of the number would break out into a loud and tuneless Arab song. Throughout the *Zikr* it was remarkable that they kept very good *time* with all the instruments, although there were numerous changes from slow to fast, and *vice versa*: also the rhythm of the blows was constantly altered. It was some time before I discovered which of the number was acting as leader: they seemed to understand what alteration he wished from the slightest gesture, and only once was it necessary to say "*soua, soua*" (together, together), to bring them back to order.

The derwishes who formed the ring were at first only four in number, one being a Turkish soldier. Others came in one by one, and joined the circle, until there were as many as twenty. They did not appear to attach any importance to the exact number. Any member could leave the mosque or return just as he wished. Two children, a boy and a girl, sat down with the derwishes during part of the Zikr, and the kavasse from the British Consulate who was with me occasionally joined in. The derwishes themselves were not distinguished by any particular kind of dress. They did not wear the distinctive cap, cloak, and girdle seen in this country among the Maulawiyeh derwishes. Some wore the black jubbeh, and some a coloured one; while others only wore the striped vest or kaftán. Four of the number wore the green turban, while others wore a white turban or only a fez. The Turkish soldier was in uniform. It would therefore be quite impossible for the uninitiated to recognise as such a derwish of this order.

The performance on the drums and cymbals described above lasted some seven or eight minutes, becoming towards the end rather painfully loud. At a pre-arranged signal it suddenly ceased, and one of the derwishes was left singing a rude chant; after about half-a-minute he stopped, and another took it up. When three or four men had thus sung a prayer, the drum and cymbals re-commenced as before, having, however, by this time all changed hands. After a second performance on these instruments similar to the first, the chant was again taken up; the drumming and chant were then repeated a third time, and the instruments put away.

The only other circumstance that was noticeable up to this point, was the entrance of Sheikh Mäjid, the principal derwish present that evening. He walked round the ring saluting each in turn. First he covered his own face with his hands; then he placed his hands on the head of the derwish who was seated before him, and lastly he kissed the head of the latter. He did not thus salute the soldier, but bowed to him after taking the central seat on the carpet near the Mihráb. He wore the sacred green turban; he seemed to be the oldest man in the party (he was certainly the chief), and was perhaps 35 or 40 years of age. There were among them no venerable grey-bearded sheikhs.

After the removal of the musical instruments, the Zikr proper commenced. The word "Zikr" means "remembering" or "mentioning," and hence mentioning the name of God, which is accordingly done in the following formulae—a statement of the unity of the Moslem deity—

"Lá ilálah illa lláh,"

that is to say, "There is no God except the God." This was repeated over and over again, with accents on the syllables as shown above, the derwishes nodding their heads backwards and forwards in time. After five or six minutes the motion became more rapid, and they turned the head alternately to each side in nodding. After some ten minutes of this repetition, they all stopped, and prayers were repeated in turn by various

derwishes, the names of Mohammed, Ali, Othman, and other celebrated Moslem saints being distinguishable.

Another repetition of the formula "La ilahah illa llah" then took place, followed by a prayer similar to the first.

Hitherto all had been sitting; they now rose and repeated "La ilahah illa llah," turning round as far as possible alternately to each side. At the same time it appeared to be of importance not to move the feet in the least degree, or to raise them from the ground. No other rule as to posture was discernible; no particular position was adhered to either for the head or the arms.

This was followed by a third prayer, and this prayer by a short but very violent Zikr. The sound certainly greatly resembled the barking of dogs, to which it has been frequently compared. No words could be distinguished; at the same time none of the men showed any signs of fatigue, or of a tendency to fall down in a fit, which is said sometimes to result from a violent Zikr. There were at the end sixteen men in the ring and four in the centre, all shouting at the top of their voices. This was the greatest number that mustered at any time throughout the evening.

This last Zikr ended as suddenly as it had begun, and all sat down. Sheikh Mâjid repeated a short prayer, to which they all answered "Amen" at the end of each sentence, and the religious ceremony was at an end, having lasted about an hour and three-quarters. Several of the derwishes kissed Sheikh Mâjid's hand, and left the mosque; the rest remained in their places, and coffee was at once brought in.

The formula "La ilahah illa llah" was pronounced at the rate of some thirty times a minute. The repetition was continued during three periods of about ten minutes each, and one period of about three minutes with greater rapidity. The formula was therefore repeated more than a thousand times in all.

Throughout the Zikr Sheikh Mâjid and those nearest him were much less noisy and demonstrative than the others. One of those next him held a rosary, and appeared during most of the time to be counting his beads; he not unfrequently passed his hands over his face and beard, as did also the others at intervals, after the different prayers. This is perhaps connected with the derwishes' custom of passing the right hand as if unintentionally over the chin, by which sign they recognise one another in public.

It appears that the derwishes of the Scyid el Bedawy sect hold a Zikr of this kind every "Monday evening," as the Arabs call it—since Monday commences with them at sunset on our Sunday—and they will even go through the performance at a private house if specially requested to do so by any of their friends.

A. M. M.

DĀJŪN, NEAR SITT NEFĪSEH.

THE name Dājūn applies to the ground immediately to the north of the shrine of Sitt Nefiseh (shown about four miles west of Ramleh on Sheet XIII of the 1-inch map). There are no ruins or other remains visible above ground. During the past year, however, the Fellahin have discovered below the surface a number of stones suitable for building purposes, which they dig out and carry to the village of Beit Dejan. The name Dājūn is in consequence well known in the neighbourhood. It was first pointed out to me as applying to a small patch of sand some six paces across, at a distance of 160 paces N.N.E. of the Welieh of Sitt Nefiseh. A few small pieces of sandstone were lying on this spot, but all the stones of any size had been removed. Several small pits had recently been dug close by, out of which the shepherds stated that building stone had been taken.

There is also a larger excavation, some 25 feet across by 10 feet deep, situated about 60 chains to the north of Welieh. From this a considerable number of stones must have been obtained. Mortar, small stones, shells, and pottery were lying about, the latter apparently not very ancient.

Some 100 yards further north again is an old pit about 10 feet deep and 25 feet across at the top. The sides and bottom are covered with grass. The shepherds consider it to be the Bir or cistern of the old village of Dājūn. Near this pit is a stone 4 feet square, partly buried in the ground, with one side still covered with mortar. It appears to be the only large stone on the site which has not been taken away by the inhabitants of Beit Dejan.

The shrine of Sitt Nefiseh is a quadrangle measuring 15 feet 4 inches by 14 feet 7 inches, enclosed by four walls, the bearing of two of which is 13 degrees west of true north. The north-west angle of the enclosure has been destroyed. There was originally a door in the north wall, but only the eastern jamb is now visible. The walls are of modern construction, 5 feet high and 21 inches thick, built of small stones covered with plaster. Each of the corners, which are still standing, is surmounted by a pyramidal stone about 20 inches in height. There is a mihrāb, or prayer niche, in the south wall inside the holy place. There is also a small niche in the north-east corner, intended, apparently, for lamps or offerings.

A. M. M.

 SUPPOSED VILLAGE OF JETT, NEAR BEIT JIBRĪN.

It has been supposed that a ruin exists in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, known by the name of Jett, or some similar word, and representing the Biblical town of Gath. In riding from Latrūn to Beit Jibrin I made

inquiries on the subject in the village of Dhikerin, and in the country between Tell es Sâfi and Beit Jibrin. During the following days I visited Beit Jibrin itself, and also Kudna, Zeita, el Kubeibeh, ed Dawâimeh, Idhneh, Senâbra, Umm Burj, and Deir Nakhkhâs. In none of those places, nor in the intermediate country, was any name known containing the same radical letters as the word Gath. The nearest approach is in the case of Tell Judeyideh, shown on the map a little to the north of Beit Jibrin.

It should be mentioned that, in almost every instance, the Fellahin answered readily and correctly questions as to places marked on the map, so that it can hardly be on account of reticence on their part that the name has not been recovered.

A. M. M.

JERUSALEM.

THE BAKOOSH HILL.

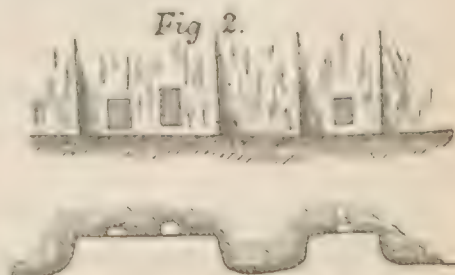
22nd February, 1882.

On the 16th of this month Mr. Armstrong and myself, in company with Dr. Chaplin, made an excursion to the Bakoosh Hill, in order to examine the view from the top, and to ascertain what tombs were to be found in the neighbourhood. The first four figures on the accompanying plate show the principal rock-cuttings of various kinds that we came across. No. 1 represents a rough cave on the level of the ground, 7 feet broad by 4 feet deep, perhaps entirely natural. On the left, however, we saw a well cut niche (as shown in the figure) of about the size required for a lamp, 8 inches broad by 6 inches high by 4 inches deep. Only this one niche was visible, but in all probability the entrance to an interior chamber exists under the present level of the ground, as in the cave known as "Umm et Tâkât," at El Jîb. The tomb thus described lies on the north-east slope of the hill, at a distance of about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of the "Bakoosh Cottage," the residence of the late Mr. Finn.



Another cave, which is perhaps a similar tomb, was found on the saddle to the west of the hill.

On the south of the hill the rock is cut in the manner represented in Fig. 2. The surface is cut back, as shown in plan, in two places about 5 feet apart. In one of the recesses so formed two well cut niches were found (as shown in the plan and elevation). In the other recess there is one niche. The rock in this place runs



north-east and south-west, so that the smoothed surface faces the south-east.

Due east of the hill, just below the Bakoosh Cottage, we found the tomb shown in plan in Fig. 4, consisting of two chambers, some 8 feet square and 6 feet square respectively, connected by a door. On entering the outer chamber a rock-cut passage is seen to the left 1 foot 6 inches broad, by 1 foot high. It is closed with stones, but is probably a koka, and runs in only or 6 feet.



Traces of a rock-cut wine-press are visible on the saddle to the west of the Bakoosh Hill, while on the top of the hill itself we found the cuttings represented in Fig. 3. The three pans are roughly cut to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet, and are closed at the bottom with earth and stones. The smallest of the three might possibly be the entrance to a cistern. The surface of the rock in that on the left is rotten, the effect of water standing in it for a long time. The three circles in the right hand top corner of the figure represent rock-cut hollows so common on both sides of the Jordan, and sometimes used by the present inhabitants for the manufacture of gunpowder.

A careful examination of the whole spur, on the east slope of which the Bakoosh Cottage stands, did not reveal any artificial rock cuttings besides those above described. The tomb sketched by Mr. Finn in "Byeways in Palestine" is visible to the south, separated from the Bakoosh Hill and Cottage by a wâdy.

We found no foundations leading one to suppose the hill an ancient site, nor did we come across any coins or pieces of glass or pottery—the latter being especially common in the neighbourhood of old ruins.

We devoted some time to investigating whether the Mount of Olives is visible from the top of the hill. From the saddle (about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of the cottage) referred to several times above, the Church of the Ascension and all the surrounding buildings are visible. From the top of the hill, however, they are hidden by the Beit Jâla ridge. It was, however, just possible to identify the Russian building (a trigonometrical point in the Survey) on the east shoulder of Olivet, the hill itself being indistinguishable.

A question has also been asked as to Rachel's Tomb. That too is invisible from the top of the Bakoosh Hill.

KHURBET 'ADASEH.

On the 20th of this month we paid a visit to the above ruin, and found there many signs of its having been formerly inhabited. On the south

especially much work has been expended on the rock. In many places the cutting appears to be due to quarrying, but as the rock scarps are almost entirely hidden by soil, it is difficult to speak with certainty. In some places, however, the cutting was no doubt effected for the entrance to a tomb, as for instance that shown in Fig. 5. It seems probable that both a quarry and a cemetery exist on this slope of the hill. The entrance to one tomb is visible, but is closed with rubbish. No doubt many others have been cut in the vertical rock surfaces in the quarry, which extends roughly over an area 100 yards east and west, by 50 yards north and south.



On the west of the hill near the top is a cutting in the rock 7 feet by 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches deep (Fig. 9). This is too large to be a rock-sunk tomb, and a channel leading into the cutting shows that it has been used for collecting rain water.

A well cut hollow in the rock, 10 inches across, was found not far distant.

On the top of the hill we found the caves shown in plan in Fig 6. They are rock-cut and fairly well executed. They are below the surface of the ground, and one descends to them through a rough rock-cut shaft. On the right hand side, on entering the larger cave, a groove is cut to receive a door. A bolt-hole is still visible. The caves are partly filled with rubbish, and no kokim or loculi were to be seen.

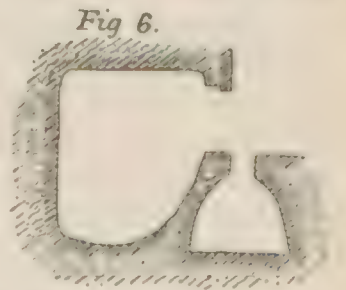
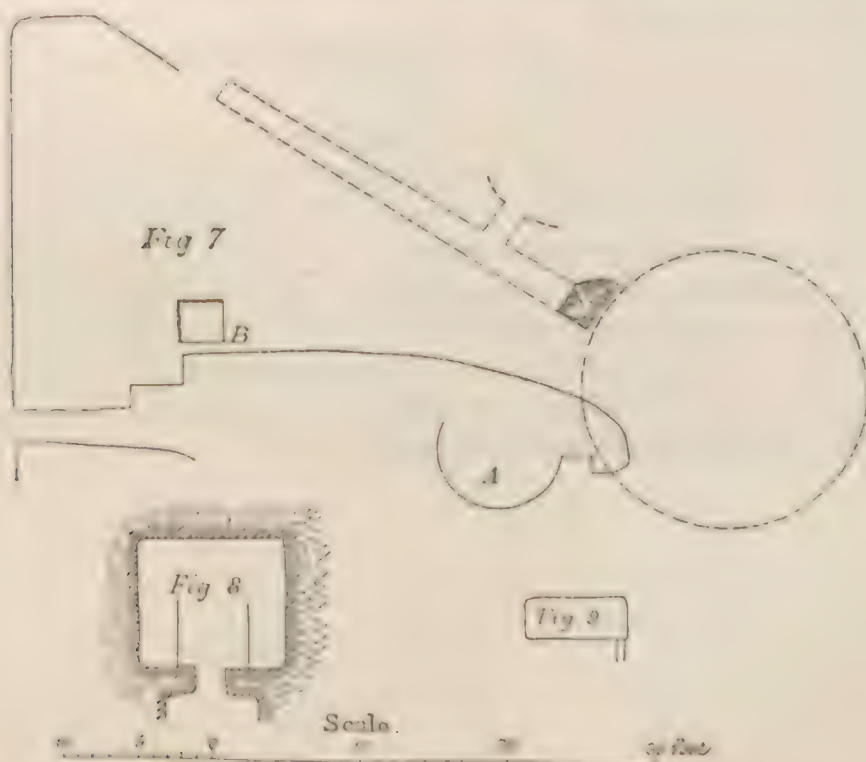


Fig. 8 represents a tomb found on the east slope of the hill. At the



level of the present surface of the ground are seen traces of a bench on each side, as shown in the sketch.

There are a large number of cisterns on the 'Adasch hill. A small cistern, 9 feet by 6 feet, is cut in the quarry on the south. Near the top of the hill is a large and remarkably well made cistern, shown as a dotted circle in Fig. 7. An underground aqueduct, 30 feet in length, is also shown in dotted lines. We were quite unable to understand its use. There is no connection between it and the large cistern, but a side passage leads to a second cistern, closed up, of which a small portion is shown by dotted lines. The aqueduct is cut in the rock to a depth varying from 4 feet at the part nearest the large cistern, to 10 feet at the end. The width is 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet. The top is covered with slabs of stone placed across from side and covered with stones and earth. The sides are covered with good cement, containing small pieces of charcoal and pottery, to a thickness of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The slabs are removed at the end nearest the cistern, and from this point the aqueduct is entered. The other line in the figure represents cuttings in the rock on the surface. At A part of a cistern is visible. At B is a square chamber, perhaps for collecting water. At a few yards distance we found traces of another cistern, lined with good cement, containing large pieces of pottery and also charcoal.

Among the ruins at the top of the hill are the mouths of several closed cisterns, while the Fellah who took us round pointed out several other places where he said cisterns had been found and closed up.

On the south slope is a birkeh, or reservoir, 51 feet 6 inches by 37 feet 6 inches, partly rock-cut, partly masonry, and near it three large cisterns. On the north of the hill the corner of another birkeh is visible. The sides are covered with earth, so that it could not be measured, but its size must be about 40 feet by 20 feet.

The ruins at the top of the hill include the foundations of a building or tower, 13 paces by 12 paces.

Other foundations and heaps of stones are seen all round. Several pieces of columns of pink and grey limestone, and some well cut stones, show that a building of some importance once stood here. Several wine-presses may be seen in the rock surface. We found a piece of tessellated pavement, containing six or eight tesserae, and an ornamented piece of pottery. The ground among the ruins is covered with chips of pottery.

There are no springs at Khürbet 'Adasah, the nearest being at El Jib, distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but the tombs, cisterns, and other indications, show that the present ruin marks an important ancient site.

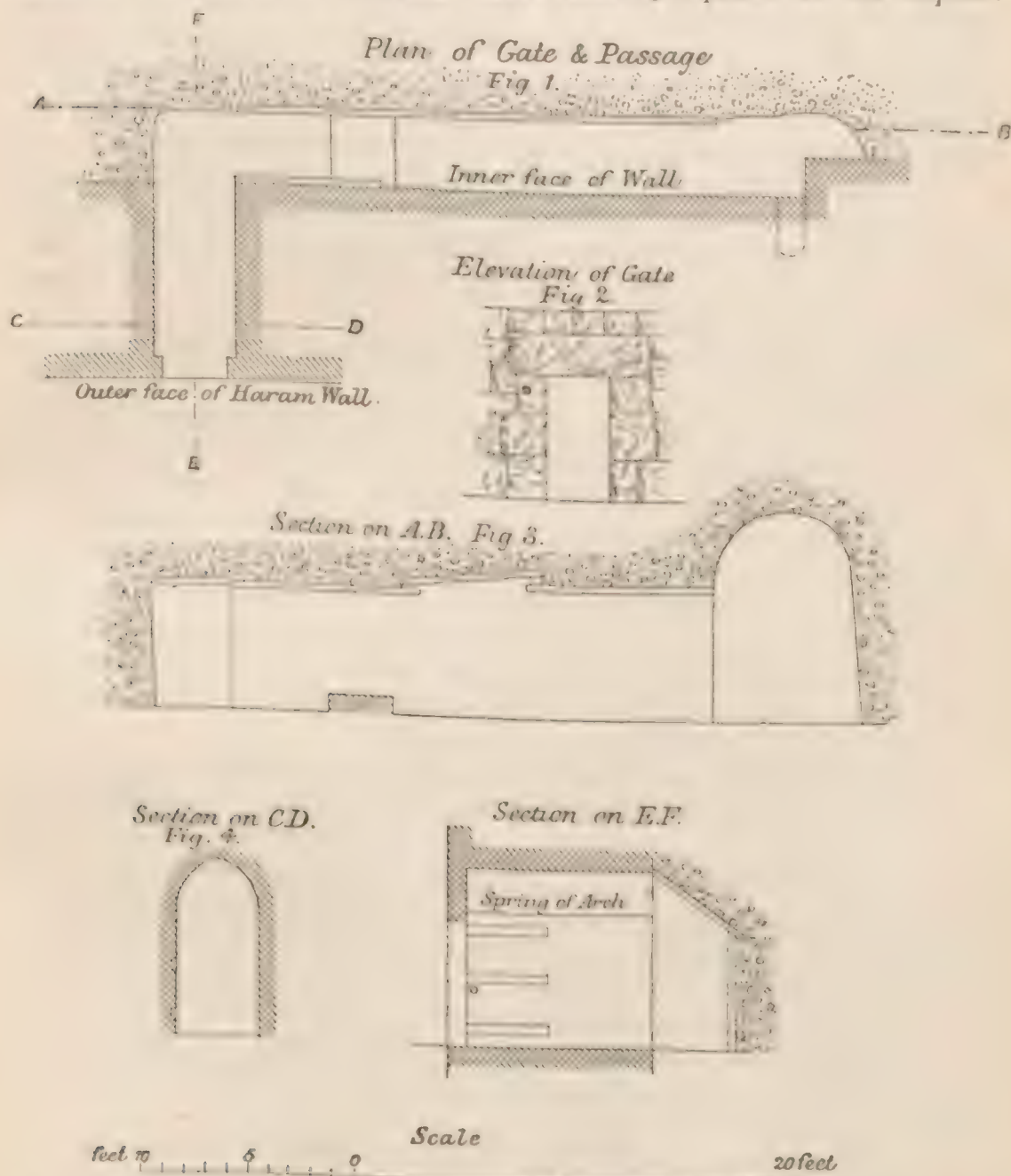
A. M. M.

JERUSALEM.

NEWLY OPENED GATE IN THE EAST WALL OF THE HARAM.

JERUSALEM, 3rd March, 1882.

IN the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* reference is made (p. 18) by Mons. Clermont Gamneau to a gate in the East Wall of the Haram, which the Turkish authorities have recently opened at his request.



According to instructions given by Captain Conder, before his departure for Constantinople, I forward plans and sections showing the condition in which the excavations have now been left.

Fig. 1 in the accompanying plate is the plan. The thickness of the

wall is 9 feet 6 inches, and through it a passage is built 3 feet 9½ inches in width. Fig. 4 shows the cross section of this passage. The height is 6 feet 7 inches to the spring of the arch, which is formed of seven voussoirs in all, the key-stone being smaller than the side voussoirs. The height in the centre is 8 feet 6 inches, so that the rise of the arch is just half the span. It is, however, not semicircular, but slightly pointed, as represented in the figure.

Fig. 5 shows the longitudinal section through the passage. At the eastern face arrangements have been made for a door. The three horizontal grooves are presumably intended to leave space for the bolts in opening and shutting the door—an arrangement sometimes followed at the present time. On each side also is seen a hole for hinges or bolts, one being represented in the figure below the central horizontal groove.

Fig. 2 shows the appearance of the door from outside. The opening is narrower than the passage itself (being 6 feet 1 inch high by 3 feet broad), and is surmounted by a lintel-stone 6 feet 6 inches by 2 feet by 10 inches thick. The size and arrangement of the adjacent stones are shown according to actual measurements.

The left (southern) jamb of the door is 257 feet from the south-east corner of the Haram.

With the exception of the lowest course, the masonry within the gate and on the inner surface of the wall consists of well cut undrafted stones, 1 foot to 2 feet 6 inches in length, in courses from 1 foot to 2 feet in height. The materials of the lowest course, however, are evidently more ancient; the stones are much larger (the dimensions of two of them being 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 8 inches, and 4 feet 9 inches by 3 feet respectively), and show signs of a marginal draft with a much worn rustic boss. One side of the passage is partly covered with good white mortar, with tool marks on the surface resembling arrow-heads, intended either to be ornamental or for the reception of another layer of plaster.

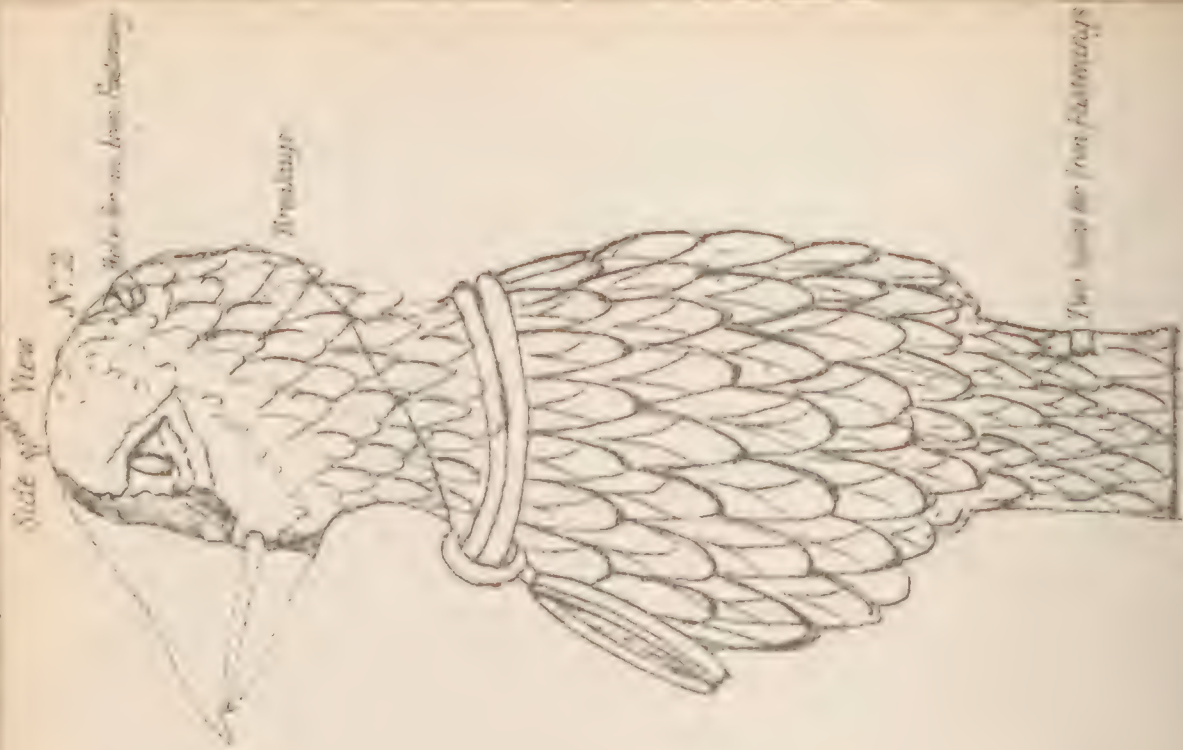
After reaching the inner face of the wall the excavators ran a gallery northwards under the surface of the Haram for a distance of 29 feet. The earth through which it runs consists of stones (some 6 inches to 1 foot across) and rubbish, and is supported by woodwork, one side of the gallery being formed by the wall itself. It is here that the interior course of more ancient material referred to above has been laid bare. One stone projects from the floor of the gallery, as may be seen in section in Fig. 2, but the rest of the floor is apparently earth. At the north end the ground plan of the wall is as represented in Fig. 1. The dotted line at this point shows a closed up drain, or the vacant space left by removing one of the lowest stones in the wall.

The work has now been left some months, I believe, *in statu quo*, and the Turks do not at present show any intention of continuing their investigations further.

A. M. M.

This door is probably not older than the 15th century at earliest.

C. R. C.




2. Side view of head



JERUSALEM, 13th June, 1882.

In the winter from 1880 to 1881, many of the outer stones of the eastern wall of the Haram Esh Sherif, near its south-east corner, fell down: some smaller pieces followed last winter; and in order to avoid the entire falling (except the large ancient parts) it was now absolutely necessary to repair. So the upper part—not only what stood higher up above the ground inside, but a good deal downwards—on both sides (east and south) at the south-east corner, was taken down, so that the place called the “cradle of Christ” became towards east quite open, and partly also in south. By this work last week a curious stone figure was found, and brought into the Serai (into the office room of the Pacha), where I had an opportunity of seeing it, and of making a sketch and taking the necessary measurements from it. It is of green marble, now broken in two pieces: the head is loose, but when I put it on the body it fitted exactly (the breakages I have shown in the two sketches); the nose on the head is also broken off, and is missing, as it was not found at the spot. The two eyes are preserved very well, but are not human ones—they are put rather on the side of the head than in front, and are standing unusually far one from the other, so the face cannot have been a human one; there is also not any trace of a beard. So I suppose the nose was a bill or beak (of a bird) probably, as I have pointed it out by dotted lines—the (inner) ending of it; and so the situation of the mouth is on one side preserved as I have shown in Fig. 2. But might it not have been the mouth of a fish? only then it would have been situated curiously. Over the whole body are feathers—as I think, or as my companion thought, fish scales—

each feather marked with two curves thus, . On the neck of the figure is a double band, on which hangs a medallion by a three-fold ring. On the medallion are two letters—as I think the figures are—in relief. On the occiput is a square hole, in which once metal was fastened, and also two such holes on its foot, of which I show the form (in Plan No. 3). So it is clear nothing is missing on the foot, but all complete still, although in some way curious. I heard that the Pacha had ordered some sketches to be made from it, which he had sent to Constantinople, and is now waiting for direction what he is to do with the figure. It seemed to me that a cast should be taken if possible, if it remains long enough here, and permission can be got.

C. SCHICK.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Taken by Lieutenant A. M. MANTELL, R.E., in 1882, for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

1. *Makâm at 'Ain Hesbân.*

This Makâm, or sacred place, situated near Hesbân (the Biblical Heshbon), is one of a class very numerous in Eastern Palestine. It consists of a low wall, roughly built in the form of a circle seven or eight paces in diameter, round the tomb of some Sheikh. On the west is a construction similar to a cromlech, but much smaller, consisting of a stone some 2 feet long, taken from a neighbouring ruin, and supported at the end on two other stones placed vertically. A door is thus formed about 2 feet high by 2 feet wide. The Bedouin, not having any mosque available, pray at such a shrine, first placing on the door described above some small offering such as a berry from a neighbouring bush or a piece of metal.

All the modern sacred stone circles are formed on the same principle, but in some cases the door is on the south. They correspond to the Kubbeh or domed building frequently seen in Western Palestine. Ploughs and other implements are left in them for months when not required for use; it is considered that no thief would steal them from such sacred places.

2. *Cromlech west of Hesbân.*

This is the finest specimen of the 700 or 800 cromlechs found by the Survey party east of the Jordan. It consists of two side stones, a top stone and a floor stone, as may be seen in the photograph. The figure on the left is Goblân en Nimr, Sheikh of the Adwân Arabs, a man over six feet in height. This gives a good idea of the cromlech.

It is still an open question for what purpose these pre-historic monuments were erected. Although in some parts of the world they have been used as tombs, Captain Conder, in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1882, has given his reasons for supposing that those found in Moab were never used for such a purpose. From the arrangement of the top stone, and from the peculiar cuttings often found on its surface, he concludes that they were only intended for altars. The prevalent idea among the Arabs is that they are inhabited by ghouls.

3. *Cromlech west of Hesbân.*

This is another fine specimen situated within about twenty yards of the above.

4. *Cromlech west of Hesbân.*

In this instance the top stone is only slightly raised above the ground, but an examination on the spot leaves no doubt as to its being an artificial construction.

5. *Cromlech west of Heshbân.*

Similar in construction to No. 4. The Arab sitting near the cromlech is Sheikh Goblân.

6. *El Kalû'a in Wâdy Heshbân.*

A remarkable group of limestone rocks in the valley running westwards from Heshbôn. They have a strong reddish tinge, and from a distance show a castellated form, which makes it difficult to believe that they are not artificial. This is indicated by the name "Kalû'a" or "fortresses." On a near approach, however, their appearance entirely changes, and they prove to be only natural crags.

7. *Makâm at Hadûnieh in Wâdy Jideid.*

This is similar to that shown in photograph No. 1. The offerings on the lintel of the door can be well seen, and are in this instance very numerous, including berries, shells, coins, a stick, pieces of iron, and the lock of a flint gun. It is remarkable that this small makâm is within a few yards of a large ancient stone circle 80 yards in diameter, with wall 30 to 40 feet thick. Of the latter the Arabs cannot give any explanation. It is situated on a spur immediately above a good spring, and there are many cromlechs in the neighbourhood. Captain Conder considers the large circle to mark the sacred centre round which the cromlechs were built.

8. *Stone Circle and Altar at Minyeh.*

The part of this construction apparently intended for an altar, is a large stone about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, surrounded by a circle of roughly squared stones six paces in diameter. On the east another similar circle intersecting the first forms a sort of courtyard, in which the worshipper might stand, facing the altar. This and six other such constructions stand on the bend of a hill overlooking the Jordan valley just above the spring at Minyeh. There is another also in the Jordan valley among the cromlechs near Kefrein. The Bedouin do not know for what they were intended.

9. *Rock-cut Tomb at el Kahf.*

The entrance to this tomb is surrounded by a well executed rock-cut pediment finer than that at the tombs of the Judges near Jerusalem. In front of the entrance is a courtyard reached by steps. The tomb chamber is at a lower level, and reached by a shaft. It is 20 feet square by 9 feet in height. On three sides there are benches for corpses, with rock-cut arcosolia.

Some 200 yards to the east is another rock-cut tomb containing ornamented sarcophagi. The style of ornamentation shows that these tombs date from about the second century A.D.

10. *Public Building at 'Ammân.*

'Ammân marks the site of the Biblical Rabbath-Ammon, and contains to the present day the remains of many Roman buildings, of which one of the best is that shown in photograph No. 10. Only a few columns and one gate are still standing, and it has been supposed that these represent the Ancient Forum. A column in the foreground shows a number of Arab "tribe-marks" which the Bedouin frequently inscribe in conspicuous positions, either for good luck or to record their opinion that the place belongs to them.

11. *Kabr es-Sultan at 'Ammân.*

This photograph shows the façade of a fine Roman tomb on the east of 'Ammân. There are various interior chambers for the reception of sarcophagi. The Arabic name signifies "the tomb of the Sultan."

The monument dates probably from the second century A.D.

12. *Odeum at 'Ammân.*

This is the smaller of the two Roman theatres at Rabbath-Ammon, and must have been used for the acting of plays; while the largest one, which is in an excellent state of preservation, was used for entertainments in which wild beasts were exhibited.

13. *North Gate of Public Building at 'Amman.*

This is a view taken from the north (*i.e.*, outside the building) of the gate which is seen in the distance in photograph No. 10.

14. *'Church at 'Amman.*

A Byzantine building of which the apse is in a fair state of preservation. An inscription found in one of the walls by the Survey party appears likely to give very closely the date at which the church was built.

15. *Kusr en Nuëijîs north-east of 'Ammân.*

A finely ornamented Byzantine building, intended for the reception of sarcophagi. The Ionic capital and some other details of the order are visible in the photograph. The roof bears a Roman sepulchral vase.

16. *Tomb Tower west of 'Ammân.*

Similar to that in the preceding photograph.

17. *Public Building and Bridge at 'Ammân.*

This view is taken looking down the fine stream at 'Ammân, which flows finally into the Jabbok. On the left we see the outside of the building, of which a special view is given in photograph No. 18. In the distance is one of the Roman bridges which cross the 'Ammân stream.

consists of a single span, still in perfect preservation, and gives access to a street bordered with columns leading to the two Roman theatres.

18. *Public Building at 'Ammân.*

This photograph shows the part still standing of some fine Roman building, probably baths, of which an exterior view is given in photograph No. 17. The three apses are well preserved nearly to the top, as also are a number of the columns. The rows of holes seen in the stones of which the wall is built were probably used in covering the surface with tiles or metal plates, but none of the plates themselves were found by the Survey party.

19. *Kusr es Seb'ah south of 'Ammân.*

This is the best preserved of the tomb-towers near 'Ammân, and is similar in general arrangement to those in photographs 15 and 16. It measures externally $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 23 feet, and is entered by a door on the north. There are ten sarcophagi inside the towers arranged round three of the sides in two layers. Several of them are ornamented with wreaths, and one with a cross. All that the Arabs have been able to open have been rifled, but there are still four which seem to have been undisturbed, and might repay examination. Several sarcophagi stand in conspicuous positions on the slopes of the hills in the neighbourhood of the Tower.

20. *Temple at Khareibet es Sûk, south of 'Ammân from the east.*

The photograph shows two rows of columns with Ionic capitals still standing among the ruins of a very considerable town. There was originally a gate, on the east of which one finely carved jamb is still *in situ*, and can be seen in the photograph.

The columns have been much damaged by the weather and shaken by earthquakes. Several shafts and capitals are lying about within the external foundations.

21. *Temple at Khareibet es Suk, south of 'Ammân from the west.*

A different view of the same subject.

22. *Tomb-Tower near Khareibet es Suk.*

This is situated a few hundred yards to the east of the Temple. It is nearly 40 feet square in plan, and is therefore considerably larger than the other tomb-towers near 'Ammân. The walls are lower than in other such buildings, and are provided with a cornice and a plinth. The tower is not roofed in. The interior is filled with earth, stones, and rubbish, so that no sarcophagi are visible, but there are two lying on the ground outside.

Outside the west wall an arch has been built as in the photograph. It is not bonded in with the rest of the masonry, and would appear therefore to be more modern. It is not clear with what object it can have been constructed.

23. *Odeum at 'Ammân. Interior Door.*

A view from the inside of one of the entrances to the small theatre shown in photograph 12.

24. *Cromlech North-west of 'Ammân.*

A fine example of a cromlech, and remarkable for its being composed entirely of flint. A second cromlech can be seen in the distance.

25. *Interior of Sassanian Building in 'Ammân Citadel.*

This photograph gives some of the details of a building which has been an architectural difficulty to various explorers. Captain Conder has recently suggested that it is of Sassanian origin, of about the same date as the great palace discovered by Canon Tristram at Mashita. He finds also that there is a close resemblance between the details of this building and those of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and considers that it will throw much light on some of the most disputed points in Syrian architecture.

26. *Entrance to Rock-cut Chamber at 'Arâk el Emîr (showing inscription).*

This is the entrance to a very fine chamber cut in the cliffs at 'Arâk el Emîr. The chamber is some 60 feet long by 30 feet broad, and 30 feet high, and was evidently formed with much care. It is now used as a store for "tilm," or chopped straw. The inscription on the right hand side is Hebrew, and is thought to date from the second century B.C. Although the letters are remarkably well cut, the translation is still a moot point: in fact, it is not certain whether it should be read from right to left, or *cave versâ*. De Vogüé, reading from right to left, translates it "'Arniyeh," but cannot suggest any very probable meaning. If read like European languages, from left to right, it may be construed to mean "Tyros," the ancient name of 'Arâk el Emîr.

27. *Rocks at 'Arak el Emîr.*

A remarkably fine range of cliffs, visible for many miles to the south. It is 600 yards in length, extending north-east and south-west, the height in the centre being 80 to 90 feet. The name of the place (ancient Tyros) is taken from this cliff, and signifies the "Princess Rock."

28. *Kusr el 'Abd at Arâk el Emîr.*

This building, called by the Arabs "the castle of the slave," is a palace constructed by John Hyrcanus in the second century B.C. It was probably never finished, but the general design has been drawn out by De Vogüé from the existing ruins. The stones (some of which are larger than any in the Jerusalem Haram) were brought down on a causeway from the cliffs shown in photograph 27. Perforated stones were firmly embedded in the

causeway, probably to assist in this engineering operation. One of these appears in the photograph.

The animals carved on the upper course of stones are supposed to be lions. They are mentioned by Josephus, and this reference leaves no doubt as to the identity of the present ruin with the palace of Hyrcanus.

A. M. M.

THE ROCK RIMMON.

To the Editor of Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.

IN your last *Quarterly Statement*, the Rev. W. F. Birch so winnowed with his critical pen Captain Conder's communication *in re* the Rock Rimmon, that I am left with a very little wheat and a great deal of chaff. I have no wish to be drawn into controversy, but should like to silence for ever any insinuations that the name Rummā, or Rummān, which was obtained by me from the Fellahin of Jebā, when visiting the cave "Mughāret el Jāi," was the result of my first letting them know the place I wanted, and then, in the Eastern fashion, finding it given to me.

Mr. Salami, the Vice-Consul of Jerusalem, knew a thing or two about the Fellahin mind, and as we rode together to Jebā he more than once said to me, "Whatever we do we must not give the shepherds a notion of the names of the cliffs or caves we wish to know about." And this caution was most conscientiously acted upon the day we explored the Wādī Suwēinit, entered the cave, and heard the name Rummān, in the valley of Michmash.

H. D. RAWNSLEY.

THE BODIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

DEAR SIR,—I see in yesterday's *Times* Lieutenant Conder lately visited with the Princes the mosque at Hebron. I should like to point out, as a matter for discussion in the *Quarterly Report*, that the bodies of the patriarchs, with Jacob—if not those of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah—were transferred from Hebron to Shechem. (*See Acts vii, 15, 16.*) No reason for the removal is assigned, nor the time when it took place. Still, the fact is undoubted, though commonly overlooked. Could not search be made at Shechem for the spot to which the patriarchs were thus, as S. Stephen says, μετετέθησαν?

Yours faithfully,

CLERICUS.

SILOAM TUNNEL.

I.

ONE THOUSAND CUBITS.

CAPTAIN CONDER'S interesting discussion of this question in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1882, may lead to important results, of which he can form no conception. I think he has satisfactorily settled the question as to the actual spot where the two excavating parties met, which appears to be in the exact spot where I predicted the place of junction would be found.

"Now if there be any likely spot where the two gangs met *it will be at this high cutting* (4 feet 6 inches) Where we find this space of enlargement at the middle of an aqueduct, there is the spot where they endeavoured to meet."—*Quarterly Statement*, October, p. 295.

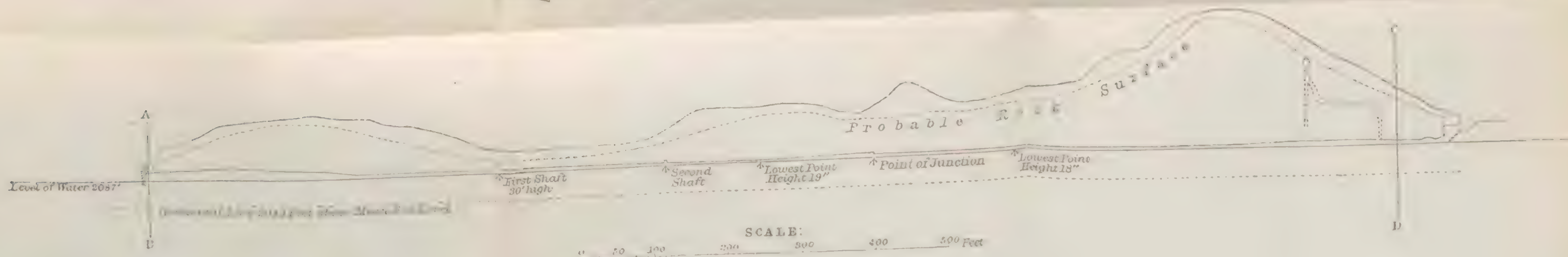
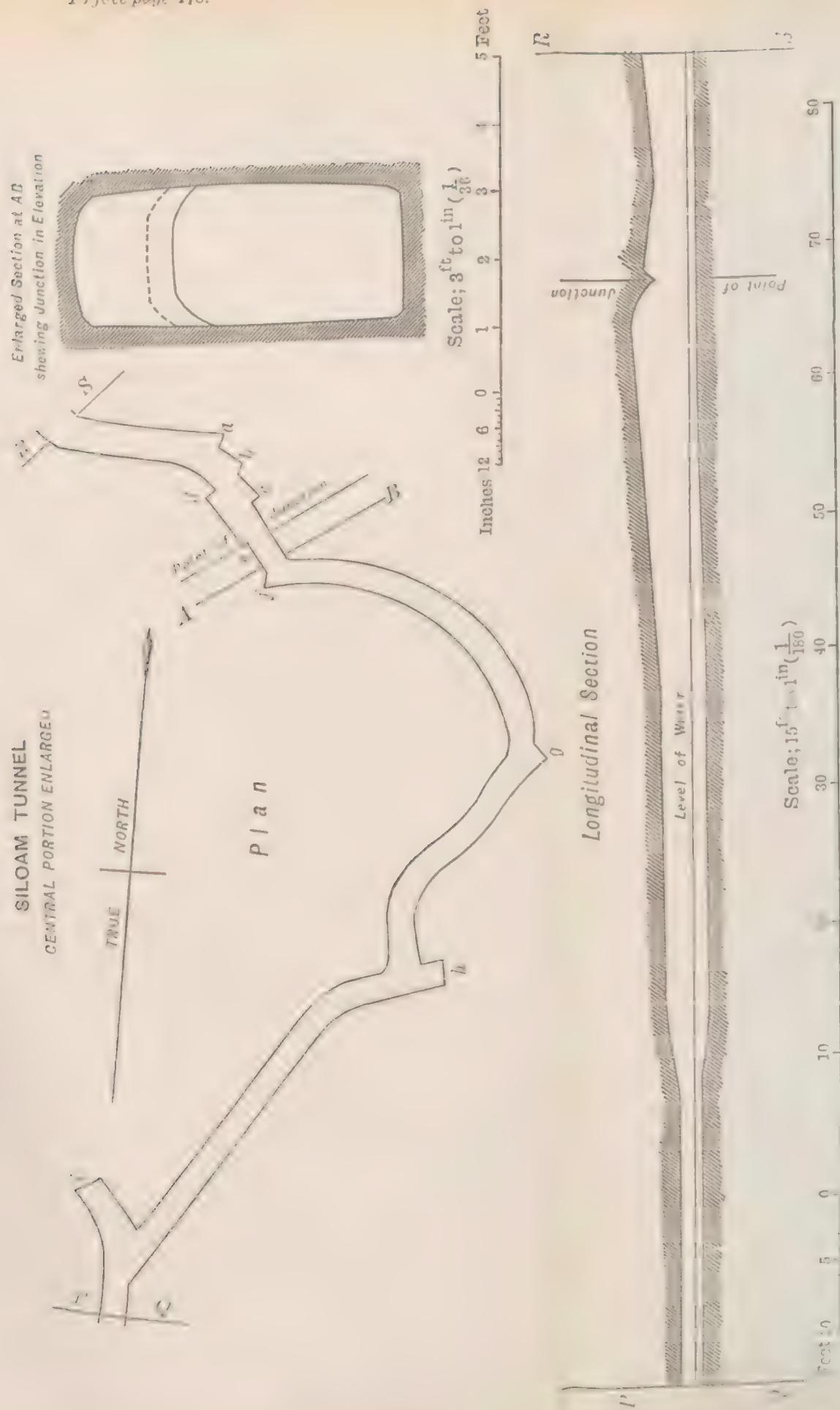
And the printed statement of Captain Conder indicates that the point of junction was exactly *where it had been predicted*. I am sorry to find in this last published statement so erroneous a statement of my theory of the Siloam tunnel as is given in the following passage:—

"Unfortunately Mr. Beswick's calculations, which reduces the length of the tunnel to 1,478 feet, is founded on a misconception (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 295), as the length of the branch from the Virgin's Fountain *is not included* in the total of 1,708 feet."—*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1882, p. 127.

Unfortunately this misconception is in the mind of Captain Conder. My calculations do not reduce the tunnel to 1,478 feet, nor has he included the length of the branch from the Virgin's Fount in the total of 1,708 feet. I am fully aware that the Siloam tunnel is estimated from the place where it enters the cross passage to the Virgin's Fount, and that this cross passage of 50·8 feet in length is not included in the total length of the Siloam tunnel, 1,708 feet. My calculations begin where the tunnel enters this cross passage, and where the 1,708 feet of length begin. And my theory is, that for 231 feet, where the tunnel begins at the cross passage, the tunnel forms an eastern or upper branch of large bore or broad gauge, 6 feet high; it then changes its course, and turns south; at the same time and place the tunnel changes its character, and becomes a southern branch of narrow bore and gauge.

Am I right in stating that the upper or eastern branch of the aqueduct, which begins at the cross passage to the Virgin's Fount, is of large bore and gauge, so large that a man 6 feet high can walk erect therein? And am I correct in stating that the lower or southern branch, from end to end, is a narrow bore and gauge, almost too small for a man to pass through? Its highest point, 4 feet 5 inches, is in the middle of its length, exactly at the





place where *I predicted* the point of junction of the two gangs of men would be found (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 295). With this single exception, the whole length is a remarkably narrow bore from end to end. I claim that the whole of this bore, or southern branch of the tunnel, is the only portion that the tablet-maker meant to be included in the 1,000 cubits mentioned in the inscription of the stone tablet. In short, I divide the Siloam tunnel into two branches, upper and lower, or into southern and eastern branches. The eastern branch is a broad bore and gauge, 231 feet in length; the southern branch is a narrow bore and gauge, 1,000 cubits = 1,477 feet in length; and the total length being 1,708 feet from the Siloam Pool to the place where the tunnel enters the cross passage to the Virgin's Fountain. I do not see how any one can misapprehend this simple and concise statement.

Let us examine the inscription more closely. It says, "And there flowed the waters from their *outlet* to the Pool for a distance of 1,000 cubits." The 1,000 cubits is measured from the "*outlet* to the Pool." The Pool we know, but where is the "*outlet*?" It cannot mean the *beginning* of the tunnel, for that would be the "*inlet*" and not the "*outlet*." The word in the tablet is well known, and its meaning determined: it never refers to the beginning nor the end of a passage, but always to the length or course of the passage. And this fact settles the question, that the 1,000 cubits is not to be measured from the beginning of the tunnel, but to some point in its course. When Hezekiah stopped the "watercourse" (2 Chron. xxxiii, 30) of the fountains this word was used in the original Hebrew, מוֹצֵא *motza*. It is always applied to the watercourse, passage, tunnel, or goings-forth, but never to the ends of a tunnel. The word "outgoing" is more expressive of the actual meaning of the word than the word "outlet," which Professor Sayce has given to it. As in the Psalms (lxxv, 8): "Thou makest the *outgoings* of the morning," where the Hebrew is *motza*. In this case, as in every other, the word cannot be applied to the beginning of the day, but to the course of the day *from the morning*—its outgoings during the day.

The radical meaning of the word is to press, squeeze, make narrow, tight passage, to squeeze through, to make straight. The Arab is ماض *maaza*, to press tight and squeeze, as when the hands rub corn. And I cannot see any other inference to be drawn from the meaning of this word in the tablet than this: that it refers to that length of the tunnel which is emphatically a narrow bore, a tight passage, a straight place, to be squeezed through if you get through at all. This is its radical and common meaning—the length of the passage, and not to one of its ends. It seems to say, when a free translation is given:

"The waters flowed from (תְּמוֹצֵא) the *narrow bore* to the Pool for a distance of 1,000 cubits."

Just as the persecutors are overtook between the "straits," מֵצָר, *metzar*, (Lam. i, 3); see Job xxxvi, 16; xxxvii, 10. This narrow bore, or straitened passage, is the only part of the passage to which the tablet-

maker could apply his measure of 1,000 cubits—from the beginning of the narrow bore to the Pool: so that the proof seems complete, that the 1,000 cubits is the measure of this narrow bore, or lower branch of the tunnel.

II.

THE TABLET-MAKER'S CUBIT.

CAPTAIN CONDER briefly alludes to the inscription, line 2, in relation to the "*three cubits*" to be broken through when the excavators first met at the place of junction. And he remarks, "the party at *d* were just *three cubits* of 16 inches from them." It is unfortunate that the actual distances of the sides and set backs at this place of junction were not taken with some degree of careful precision, or if taken, that they were not given except by way of inference, which would be, in a general or random way = 48 inches. Had the exact distances been given or taken, carefully measured without regard to theory, we could have used them as valuable factors in settling the value of the cubit.

Again, in the last line of the inscription we read, that "three-fourths" of a cubit was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation. If this be the correct reading, then the difference of height of the two channels at the point of junction would be—

inch cubit	inches
16·000 × ·75 =	12·000
17·724 × ·75 =	13·293
18·000 × ·75 =	13·500
21·000 × ·75 =	15·750

Captain Conder admits "the difference of height of the two channels at the point of junction is just 13 inches, or close upon *three-fourths* of a cubit of 16 inches." How much closer it would have been to a cubit of 17·724 inches, such as I suggest, had a very close measurement been made, it is difficult to say. But if this measurement of *three-fourths* of a cubit = 13 inches, then 3 cubits ought to have been 52 inches instead of 48. Then, again, admitting the diagram produced by Captain Conder, and using it as a guide, the distance between the workers being "yet three cubits to be broken through," as stated by the inscription, that distance would be represented in the *inscription* by the following words:—

(Line 3) "The excess of rock on the right. They rose up . . . they struck on the west of the—

(Line 4) excavation, the excavators struck, each to meet the other "pick to pick."

Both gangs of men seemingly worked on this excess of 3 cubits, and struck the excess of rock, each to meet the other, pick to pick. Therefore, if *e* in the diagram be the point of junction, the space between them would

be that which lies between the set back at *d*, where the excavators have struck and cut the rock "on the west of the excavation." But the diagram itself shows clearly that the intervening space so struck is over 52 inches. If both gangs struck the rock of 3 cubits, as the tablet says they did, "each to meet the other pick to pick," then the intervening space would be from the set back at *f* working up stream, to *d* working down stream, and meeting at *e* the point of junction. The intervening space would then be "three cubits" of 17·724 inches = 53·172 inches. For the slight set back down stream at *e* is less than 24 inches from the set back *f*. The total space between the set back at *f* and the set back at *d* is nearer 53 inches than any other figure. Captain Conder assumes: "The party at *e*, in the meanwhile, seemed to have stopped working, which they would naturally do, to avoid injuring or being injured by the others." But this is opposed to the statement in the inscription, which says, "the excavators struck, each to meet the other pick to pick," after they had found out there was but 3 cubits between them. It seems more likely that the excavators forming the down stream party worked from *f* to *e*, and the up stream party worked from *d* to *e*, where both met at *e*, the point of junction. Both parties would be too eager to meet for one of them to stand still, with 3 cubits of solid rock in front of them.

I am fully prepared to enter into an elaborate test of the actual length of the cubit measure in use in and around Jerusalem during biblical times, and during the time of Herod. But the present is not the proper time, and space in this *Quarterly* will not permit it. However, the following cases being of a purely topographical character, and the main factors having been furnished by the Ordnance Survey, may be cited with confidence and profit, independent of their importance and interesting nature.

III.

TEST CASES.

Case I. The large foundation stone in the south-east angle of the Haram was sunk into the rock at a level of 2,272·25 feet above the Mediterranean. This is generally regarded as the chief foundation stone in the substructures of the Haram, and probably was the first stone laid in the structure. Now add 100 cubits to its height, and you obtain $100 \times 1·477044 = 147·7044$ feet. Hence:—

$$2,272·25 + 147·70 = 2,419·95 \text{ feet.}$$

And you obtain the exact mean level of the Haram. The Ordnance Survey gives 2,420 feet as the general level of the Haram area. Colonel Wilson, in his Ordnance Survey Notes, and in all the maps (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1880), gives 2,420 feet as the general level of the Haram. Captain Warren, in all his works, gives 2,420 feet as the general level of the Noble Sanctuary. Captain Conder, in all his works, follows suit with 2,420 feet as the general level. Indeed this factor has never been

questioned, and has obtained universal acceptance. And yet, according to my estimate of the true value of a cubit, 100 cubits is the exact difference between the level of the substructural foundation and the general level on top of the substructure.

Case II. Josephus describes the general height of the Gentile or outer Court, which was about equal to that of the general rock level of the Haram as we find it to-day, namely, 2,420 feet. He says :

"The lowest part of this Court [Gentile] was erected at the height of 300 cubits, and in some places more."

Now 300 cubits would be equal to $300 \times 1.477044 = 443.114$ feet. All the heights of Moriah and Ophel and Mount Sion have their ravines and depths drawn together at only one point, a deep well south of the city called Bir-Eyub. The united ravines come together here. It is the lowest level to them all. Its rock surface has a level of 1,977 feet, with a general surface level all round of 1,979 feet. Let us now estimate from this lowest level of the ravines around the Haram, and add the height given by Josephus, namely, 300 cubits, and we obtain the following result :—

$$300 \times 1.477044 = 443.114 \text{ feet.}$$

$$1,977 + 443.114 = 2,420.114 \text{ feet.}$$

And we again obtain the general level of the Haram, or of the lowest height of the Courts in Herod's Temple, *as stated by Josephus.*

The real test of any value given to the cubit is best seen in large values, where the error, if any, is magnified to a degree to make the erroneous estimate palpable. In small quantities of a few cubits the error is so insignificant, that the difference is usually attributed to carelessness in the workman, or the slack use of round numbers and measurements by the engineer and constructor, as if they were never very particular. But magnify the distance to 50 or 100 cubits, and the error then increases into yards and rods.

Case III. In 1 Kings vii, 2, we read of Solomon building his palace 100 cubits in length. And in verse 6, he is said to have built a porch in front of the palace. Its length across the front of the building was 50 cubits, and its depth or breadth 30 cubits, making a total length of 100 cubits, and a breadth of porch of 30 cubits = 130 cubits total length.

Now, if we admit that the Royal Palace was built on Mount Moriah, along the length of the south wall, where Herod placed his Royal Triple Cloisters, the substructural foundations must have been of the same extent. Let us see what evidence exists. The value of 130 cubits = 192 feet.

$$130 \times 1.477 = 192 \text{ feet.}$$

The original passage of the Triple Gate terminates at a distance of 19 feet exactly. And at very nearly the same distance from the Double Gate, the original double tunnel terminates. And in the plate given in "Recovery of Jerusalem," Captain Warren has marked the total length 192' 0", or 192 feet and a fraction less than an inch. The proof which this result furnishes of the original substructures being equal to the length of the Royal Palace and porch of Solomon, cannot but be regarded as interesting and valuable to our topographical knowledge of Ancient Jerusalem.

I am prepared to supply important test cases by the score, of great topographical interest, in and around the Haram, in illustration of the true length of the cubit, which I estimate at $\sqrt{3.14159} \times 10 = 17.724$ inches. And it seems to me very likely that this narrow bore, forming the southern or Siloam branch of the aqueduct of 1,000 cubits = 1,477 feet, is a confirmation of that estimate.

Strathroy, Ontario,
Canada.

S. BESWICK.

I AM sorry to have misunderstood Mr. Beswick's view as to the tunnel. He, however, appears to suppose our survey of the tunnel to be much rougher than is really the case. Every offset has been carefully measured within an inch or so, and the whole of the passage has been carefully planned from a chain and compass traverse, which can be consulted for any measurements required. The bore of the tunnel, from end to end, is nearly uniform, but the height varies constantly in different parts: as a matter of fact, the southern part of the tunnel is much the highest (12 to 16 feet). The cross passage to the Virgin's Pool is low (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet). The section (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1882, p. 123) gives a general idea of the heights along the canal.

The statement I have made as to the "three cubits" was not either general or random, but founded on the traverse, which can be published if necessary. There is no distinct alteration of the tunnel at 231 feet from the north end, either in gauge or in height. The exact distances were taken carefully without regard to theory, as we have no theory to support in the matter. Mr. Beswick's "Test Cases" appear to me very inconclusive, and not to be compared with the deductions from widths of passages, intervals of buttresses, and dimensions of stones, which I enumerated some time since in the *Quarterly Statement* as indicating the length of the cubit.

C. R. C.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

THE Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held at the Offices of the Society, on Tuesday, 17th June. The chair was taken by Mr. JAMES GLAISHER.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary then proceeded to read the Report of the Executive Committee on the work of the past year.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“Your Committee, elected at the last General Meeting, held on June 21st, 1881, have, on resigning their trust, to render you an account of their administration during the past year.

“1. The Committee have held twenty meetings since their last election.

“2. The subjects which have occupied their attention have been the following :—

I.—THE SURVEY OF EASTERN PALESTINE.

“We had the pleasure of announcing, at the annual meeting of last year, that the services of Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell had been fortunately secured, together with those of Messrs. Black and Armstrong, formerly of the Royal Engineers, and were with Captain Stuart in the commencement of the Survey of 1872.

“The expedition started in the spring of last year, and after some good preliminary work, pending the arrival of the instruments, Captain Conder led his party across the Jordan, and commenced the Survey of Eastern Palestine.

“It was found, however, that difficulties were raised by the Turkish authorities of a kind which had never previously been encountered. The firman under which Captain Conder worked was one signed by the Sultan's predecessor, and peremptory orders arrived from Constantinople that, until a new firman had been signed, the work was to stop.

“Under these circumstances Captain Conder, after surveying 500 square miles, and executing a large number of plans, and examining a country which yielded many most interesting and valuable discoveries, was compelled to bring his party back to Jerusalem. Here he occupied them with laying down the field work, completing the observations, etc., etc., while negotiations were going on at Constantinople with the view of obtaining the firman desired.

“The Committee feel that they cannot sufficiently express their gratitude to Lord Dufferin, for the great trouble he has taken in this matter. His Majesty the Sultan has, we are happy to learn, promised to sign the firman granting permission to explore, within certain limits, east of the Jordan.

“We have now only to wait until this firman is signed.

“The present threatening outlook in Egypt and the East causes the withdrawal of the party to be a matter of some satisfaction to the Committee, as it relieves them of anxiety as to the safety of their officers.

“The Committee desire strongly to express their opinion that, under the circumstances, Captain Conder had no choice whatever but to yield to

the imperative orders from the Sultan, and to stop the Survey. They desire further to ask the General Committee for a vote of thanks, not only to this tried and able officer, but also to Lieutenant Mantell, whose energy and zeal have made him so valuable a second. Mr. Black had, unfortunately, to come home in the autumn, being disabled by an attack of dysentery, and Mr. Armstrong, the servant of the Fund for ten years, has acted with the energy and intelligence which have always largely contributed to the success of our Survey work. The following is the report sent to us by Captain Conder :—

“ 21st June, 1882.

“ The party, including Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., and Messrs. Black and Armstrong, left England on 16th March, 1881, and reached Beyrout early in April. While awaiting our stores Lieutenant Mantell and I made a tour through Northern Syria, resulting in the discovery of the site of Kadesh on Orontes. The outbreak of a revolt of the Druzes rendered the Survey of the Hauran impossible, and the Governor of Syria refused us permission to survey under our former firman. I therefore transferred our base of operations to Jerusalem, and, while awaiting the arrival of the theodolites, we were employed in revisiting various points of interest concerning which additional information had been demanded in England. Meantime, an opportunity for commencing our operations in Moab presented itself, and on receipt of the instruments the party proceeded to Heshbon, and the Survey was carried on for nearly two months without the knowledge of the Turkish authorities. When, however, our presence became known, peremptory orders were sent to us to suspend our operations. I delayed as long as possible the stoppage of our work, but after five weeks of negotiation I found it necessary to submit to the pressure of the Turkish authorities.

“ The party went into winter quarters in December, during which time the field work of the 500 square miles' survey was worked out by Lieutenant Mantell and Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Black being invalided home in October. Meantime, I proceeded, by order of the Committee, to Constantinople, where, after three weeks of negotiation, I obtained, through the help of the British Ambassador, the promise of a new firman.

“ Shortly after my return to Jerusalem, their Royal Highnesses Princes Edward and George of Wales reached Palestine, and I was commanded to attend them during their tour, which lasted six weeks. The Royal party visited the Hauran at Hebron, and I was entrusted with a report on this subject to be submitted to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Princes also remained a week beyond Jordan, and additional information was obtained concerning the district of Mount Gilead north of that surveyed. By order of the Committee we left Palestine on 22nd May, 1882, but before leaving I received notice from H. E. the British Ambassador to say that the firman had been finally approved by the Minister of Public Instruction, and submitted by him to the Porte for confirmation. There

appears, therefore, reason to hope that the suspension of the Survey may be only temporary.

“The results, as submitted to the Executive Committee, include the complete examination of 500 square miles, with a volume of notes and a large number of special plans and surveys, also Lieutenant Mantell's photographs east of Jordan. The reports on Kadesh, Tyre, Jerusalem (the Siloam inscription and the new Jewish tomb, etc.), Hebron, etc., are additional results of our expedition.

“The country, when we left Palestine, was in a somewhat excited state, due to recent political events, but no outbreak of fanaticism was likely to occur.

“I must, in conclusion, report that the conduct of the party gave me the greatest satisfaction; Lieutenant Mantell distinguished himself by the rapidity with which he attained a colloquial and grammatical knowledge of Arabic, and by his general zeal and ability he must be considered a valuable addition to the officers of the Society. Messrs. Black and Armstrong showed much discretion in their treatment of natives at a critical period, and the trustworthiness of their recent work quite equals that of their former performances. The native staff also gave satisfaction, and no member was dismissed during the fourteen months in which they were employed. The instruments provided by the Committee all gave satisfaction, especially the 8-inch theodolite, by Troughton & Simms. They are on their way home, and have been insured for £250.

“The property of the Society left in Jerusalem is estimated at £170; it is all of imperishable character, properly stored, and carefully inventoried.

“In conclusion, I consider that the credit of the Society stands better Palestine at the present moment than it has perhaps ever done before, while the genuine interest shown in our proceedings by their Royal Highnesses during their tour cannot fail to be of great advantage to the Society in the future.

“CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Captain, R.E.*”

“II. The Committee have also been engaged upon the continuing of the publication of materials on their hands. Three additional volumes of the “Survey of Western Palestine” have been issued during the year, viz., the second volume of “Memoirs,” the “Name Lists,” and the volume of “Special Papers.”

“The third volume of “Memoirs” has been printed, and the proofs are in Captain Conder's hands: this may be expected in September. It will contain, in addition to the memoirs as originally written, a great quantity of additions made by that officer during his recent stay in Western Palestine. Canon Tristram's volume on the natural history of the country will be ready before the end of the year, and it is hoped that Colonel Warren's volume on Jerusalem researches, and his portfolios of plans, will appear early next year.

"As regards the maps, the reduced map was published last September. It has been followed by another issue of the same map, with the water basins and sections of the country laid upon it, by Mr. Trelawney Saunders. This eminent geographer has also prepared, to accompany the new map, an "Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine;" proofs of the Old Testament map, also prepared by Mr. Saunders, lie on the table for your inspection; the New Testament map is in the hands of the engraver.

"The Committee have to regret the loss by death during the last twelve months of many of their most valuable and useful members. The first of these is Dean Stanley, one of the founders of this Society. The first assistance which he rendered was in May 12th, 1865, when he lent the Jerusalem Chamber for the meeting in which the "Palestine Exploration Fund" was founded. The last occasion on which he showed his sympathy and gave his assistance was when he lent us the same chamber, in which the Survey of Eastern Palestine was resolved upon.

"We have next to lament the death of the Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham, and one of our honorary secretaries, also for many years associated with Mr. Grove as honorary secretary for this Society. He is known as having raised the "Sinai Survey Fund," and assisted in the accomplishment of that Survey.

"The death of Major Anderson, C.M.G., R.E., is another irreparable loss to the cause of Palestine research. He was always ready to give, not only advice, but time and active work, to the furtherance of our enterprise, and at the time of his death was the editor of the maps of Western Palestine, which ever after formed the basis of all writings and discussions on biblical geography and topography. His latest work for us was the outfit and despatch of the new expedition.

"We have also to regret the death of Mr. Samuel Gurney, for many years a members of the Executive Committee; of the Rev. Samuel Manning, member of the General Committee; and of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, Bishop of Jerusalem, member of the General Committee, both firm friends and upholders of the Society.

"The Committee regret to announce that Mr. Clermont Ganneau, recently appointed to the post of French Consul in Jaffa, has been recalled and appointed interpreter at the Foreign Office of Paris. By this change the cause of Archaeology throughout the Holy Land suffers an irreparable loss.

"The following is the Balance Sheet for the year 1881 :—

RECEIPTS.

1881.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance from 1880..	1,365	4	1			
	Less unpaid account	260	15	3			
					1,104	8	10
	Subscriptions and Lectures	..	..	..	2,430	5	10
	Publications	..	..	..	144	6	3
	Photographs	..	..	..	18	10	11
	Map and Memoirs	..	..	..	2,123	15	6
	To unpaid accounts	..	..	..	778	5	11
					6,599	13	3

EXPENDITURE.

					£	s.	d.
Expenditure on the Survey	..	..	..	..	2,628	12	7
Map and Memoirs	..	..	..	..	2,647	6	6
Rent	..	..	..	..	128	11	0
Printing	..	..	..	..	398	5	1
Advertising	..	..	..	..	40	14	10
Salaries and wages	..	..	..	..	436	2	8
Stationery, Office expenses, and Sundries	..	..	..	..	70	18	0
Postage	..	..	..	..	136	11	0
Balance	..	..	..	..	112	11	7
					6,599	13	3

WALTER MORRISON,

Hon. Treasurer.

"It will be seen that the Committee spent 6,487*l.*, of which 2,628*l.* was spent in the Survey of Eastern Palestine, while 2,647*l.* was spent in producing the maps and "Memoirs." About 450*l.* was returned to subscribers in the shape of the Society's *Journal*. Rent, salaries, advertising, and management generally, about 750*l.*, that is about 11 per cent.

"The Committee have to ask that a vote of thanks be passed to Professor Sayce, Mr. Isaac Taylor, Mr. St. Chad Bowcawen, the Rev. W. F. Birch, the Rev. Henry G. Tomkins, and M. Clermont Gamneau, for contributions to the *Journal* of the Society, to all the Honorary Secretaries of this Society; to all the annual subscribers; and to the following donors during the past year:—G. M. E., Miss Wakeham, Mr. H. Charleswood, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Mr. Fritz Reiss, Mr. Wolff, Mr. George Burnes, Mr. Mackimmon, Mr. H. Vaughan, Sir John Cowell, Mr. G. S. Gibson, Professor Watson, Mrs. Anderson, Mr. H. M. Ormerod, Mr. G. Bickerton Evans, Mr. A. W. Jones, Mr. C. F. Fellows, Rev. H. Hall Houghton, Rev. W. H. Walford, Rev. F. E. Wigram, Rev. M. T. Farrar, Mr. A. H. Heywood, Miss Edwards, Mr. James Stevenson, Rev. A. M. Morrison, Mr. R. Crewdson, Mrs. Dykes, Mr. G. W. Norman, Rev. J. Braithwaite, Mr. G. Gotto, Mr. E. Whympier, and Mr. Dalzell.

"The Executive Committee have invited the following gentlemen to join the General Committee during the last year :—

Lord Eustace Cecil.

Sir John Cowell.

Major Grover.

Rev. Professor Lumby.

Mr. W. Aldis Wright.

"They have also invited the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, Major Grover, and Mr. Aldis Wright to take the places vacated by the deaths of Mr. Holland, Major Anderson, and Mr. Gurney.

"In conclusion, the Committee have only to recommend that as the firman may be signed any day, in which case the field will be again open to them, strenuous efforts be continued to keep alive the interest now existing in the work, and to raise funds.

"Captain Conder is at present engaged in arranging his materials for publication."

On the conclusion of the Report, the CHAIRMAN laid upon the table all Captain Conder's work, including the finished map of the 500 square miles, his portfolio of special plans, his field books and observations, his photographs, tracings, and his note-book, filled with sketches, freehand drawings, plans and notes taken in the field. Mr. GLAISHER, in calling the attention of the Committee to this result of the year's campaign, spoke in the highest terms of Captain Conder's energy, and the great zeal with which the whole party had worked.

It was proposed by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, seconded by Mr. HENRY MAUDSLAY, and carried unanimously, that the Report be received and adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then laid upon the table the uncorrected proof of the Map of the Old Testament, and the drawing of that for the New Testament, explaining that the work had been placed in the hands of Mr. Trelawney Saunders, who had been actively engaged upon it for the last eighteen months, the result being that the map before them was far superior to any previously existing maps to illustrate the Old and New Testaments, as the Society's map of Western Palestine was superior to any previously existing maps of the country. He explained also that Mr. Saunders was alone responsible for his identifications, and that, though students of the Bible would not probably agree with Mr. Saunders, and with each other, in all the identifications adopted or made by him, there would be but one opinion on the experience, labour, and thought brought to bear on the production of these two beautiful works.

The CHAIRMAN next proceeded to say that he would take advantage of Dr. Chaplin's presence among them that day to express personally the very deep gratitude of the Committee for the many acts of kindness and sympathy which he has shown to the Society's officers and party in Jerusalem. He tendered him personally the best thanks of the Committee.

In reply, Dr. CHAPLIN briefly drew a contrast between the knowledge of the country possessed by educated people before the foundation of the Society, and that which now exists, thanks to its labours. He also gave his own testimony to the admirable conduct of the officers under the many difficulties which surround the scientific explorers in the East.

The Rev. WILLIAM WRIGHT proposed the re-election of the Executive Committee. This was seconded by Captain CONDER, and unanimously carried.

Mr. MACGREGOR proposed, and Professor HAYTER LEWIS seconded, the election of the following new members of the General Committee :—

Bishop of Truro.

Bishop of Melbourne.

Colonel Locock, R.E.

Rev. Dr. Löwy.

Rev. H. L. Stracey.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting was adjourned.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have great pleasure in publishing in this number of the *Quarterly Statement* the Report, prepared by Captain Conder, of the Princes' visit to the Holy Land, for the Prince of Wales. It has been very kindly presented to the Committee for publication by His Royal Highness. It contains, first, the Report of the visit to Hebron, with a plan drawn by Captain Conder, from measurements taken by Sir Charles Wilson and himself, of the Mosque of Hebron, which differs in many important details from any previously published plans. The second part of the Report contains an account of the journey through the Holy Land, in which the Princes were accompanied by Captain Conder, whose knowledge of the country was placed at their service.

As might have been expected, the outbreak of hostilities in Egypt has deprived the Committee, for a time, of their officers. Captain Conder has been ordered to join the Staff of Sir Garnet Wolseley. Lieutenant Mantell is with his company. Before starting, Captain Conder was fortunately able to finish the revision of his proofs of the third volume of the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine," but all thought of publishing the results of the Eastern work must be abandoned until his return.

Besides these officers, Sir Charles Wilson is at Cairo, Colonel Warren at Suez, and Professor Palmer, who had accepted the office of Chief Interpreter, has been made prisoner by the Bedouin and carried up the country.

We have to regret the loss by death of one of the original members of the Society, namely, Professor Pusey, who never ceased to take the deepest interest in the work, and to support it by donations as well as by personal influence.

The following have joined the General Committee :—

BISHOP OF TRURO.

Rev. Dr. LÖWY.

Colonel LOCOCK, R.E.

Rev. W. J. STRACEY.

Major GROVER, R.E., has been appointed to a post in Portsmouth Dockyard, and has therefore resigned his membership of the Executive Committee.

The Committee have resolved to continue their efforts to maintain the general interest in this work, and hope that support will be continued, and funds accumulated, so as to render the resumption of work easy as soon as an opportunity is found, and the state of public feeling in the East allows. Meantime the *Quarterly Statement* will be continued.

The third volume of the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine" will be ready in November. Canon Tristram's work on the "Flora and Fauna" is approaching completion. The volume on Jerusalem will not be kept waiting for Colonel Warren, who has given the Secretary his notes to accompany and explain the plates.

The Old and New Testament Maps, reduced, will be ready about the middle of November. They will be issued to subscribers the same price as the modern reduced map.

There are a few copies of the "Survey" left, which the Committee are very desirous of placing in public libraries. They would be very much obliged if readers of the *Quarterly Statement* would send them names of libraries and librarians. A circular has been prepared giving full particulars of the work and its cost, which can be forwarded to any one on application.

Mr. Saunders's beautiful sections of the country, viz.: one from north to south, and four from east to west, have been laid down on two sheets, so that they can be had separately if desired. They are also laid down on his "Water-Basin" Map. The price of the sheets is 1s. 6d. each. The Jerusalem sheet of the great Map can also be had separately, at half-a-crown.

The income of the Society from all sources, from July 1st to September 19th, 1882, was £482 12s. 6d.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

THE PRINCES' JOURNEY THROUGH THE HOLY LAND.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL,
September 6, 1882.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

SIR,

The Prince of Wales desires that I should forward you the accompanying report on the mosque at Hebron, which Captain Conder, R.E., has been good enough to draw up for His Royal Highness's information. His Royal Highness has great pleasure in now placing it at the service of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I have ventured to make a few notes of my own on Captain Conder's report, which, of course, you will take for what they are worth.

As soon as it was determined that the two Princes should visit Palestine, one of the first objects to which I turned my attention, was that their entrance to the mosque (and if possible to the cave) at Hebron should be secured. But on arrival at Jaffa, on March the 28th, I learnt from Mr. Consul Moore that the matter was by no means certain, or satisfactorily arranged.

Application had been made, by desire of the Queen, through the Foreign Office and Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, for the same facilities of access to all places of interest in Syria which were granted to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1862, including that to the mosque of Hebron.

The Sultan fully concurred, and gave explicit orders to this effect, and sent one of His Majesty's personal aides-de-camp (Colonel Ahmet Aly Bey) from Constantinople to be in attendance on their Royal Highnesses during their sojourn on Ottoman territory; and consequently, by His Majesty's orders, the deference shown to the Princes by all the Pachas, Governors, and their subordinates throughout the forty days' tour in Syria, and their readiness to permit the thorough examination of every site and everything considered worth visiting, whether small or great, were constant and unvaried.

But, with the curious ignorance that seems to prevail at the Porte respecting matters of detail at a distance from Constantinople, it was pointed out that it was impracticable now to travel from Jerusalem to Hebron, as the roads were not safe, and the Pacha at Jerusalem had not a sufficient force of military at his disposal to ensure the safe conduct of the Princes thither.

The road, however, between Jerusalem and Hebron is as secure as that between any two country towns in England, and no guards whatever are required for the passage. So this excuse was at once overruled, and the

Pacha was told we were going to Hebron as ordinary travellers, and that without any escort. Subsequently, after further telegraphic communications with the Foreign Office and with Constantinople, permission was telegraphed from the Porte for the Princes to visit the mosque at Hebron, and the cave, if the Pacha at Jerusalem considered he had sufficient military at his disposal to ensure their safety from fanatics or other disturbers of the public peace, there or on the road.

His Excellency Raouf Pacha accordingly started from Jerusalem on April 2nd, with such soldiers as he considered desirable, to make preparations at Hebron for the visit of the Princes, two days afterwards.

They left the camp at Jerusalem on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of April, and as Colonel Sir C. Wilson happened to be staying in the city, I invited him and Captain Conder to accompany our party, in order that this examination of the mosque and cave might be made as thorough as possible. We arrived in Hebron the same afternoon. Here began the series of striking contrasts between the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1862, as described by Dean Stanley in the appendix to his "Sermons in the East" (pp. 141-169), and that of His Royal Highness's two sons in 1882.

Instead of the obstacles and difficulties which Sûraya Pacha in 1862 threw in the way of the Prince of Wales, Raouf Pacha did all he could to facilitate everything for the two Princes in 1882.

Even before our tents were pitched he came at once to the camp, and explained how, during the day, he had been all over the mosque with the custodian, and that no entry to the cave could be discovered. His Excellency promised, however, that the next day's search should be as thorough as he or we could make it. Every hole and corner, every passage and door, should be opened and explored.

And in further contrast with what Sûraya Pacha stated to Dean Stanley (p. 160), "that he never thought of visiting the mosque of Hebron for any other purpose than that of snuffing the sacred air," Raouf Pacha, as a devout and strict Moslem, expressed his own earnest wish to penetrate the cave. It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the liberality of sentiment, and of the straightforwardness and courtesy shown towards the Princes and party, which distinguished Raouf Pacha throughout the whole of this visit. He said that at one point only he hoped the Princes would stop short—the destruction or removal by main force of any of the stones of the building. Their Royal Highnesses assured him they hoped this last resort for obtaining entrance to the cave would not be necessary.

At half-past six on the following morning we left the camp with Raouf Pacha on foot. The inhabitants of the town showed every sign of pleasure at the visit of the Princes, and though a file of soldiers was drawn up at the entrance to the mosque, they really only served as a guard of honour, and were not at all necessary for the protection of Their Royal Highnesses. There was no "military occupation of the town," such as described by Dean Stanley on page 153.

The hereditary guardian of the mosque, and his attendants, met us at

the door, where shoes were removed, and conducted us straight through the eastern aisle into the nave of the church. At first he appeared evidently to be anything but well disposed towards the visit, and as he threw back, with the help of his attendants, the carpet that covered the point B in Captain Conder's plan, he did so with an air of dignity, despair, and resignation, as if he thought that the end of the world had arrived. His religious feelings, though suppressed, were most manifest on his countenance; he expected, I think, we should use crowbars to raise the stones, and was greatly relieved when we passed on, not having done so. The quiet persistency with which we examined the whole of the buildings was taken, I hope, as a sign of our reverence for the sacred places in his charge, and when some of the party in the afternoon revisited the Haram, he was quite pleasant and affable. His relief was great that the cave had not been entered, though our party had seen more of the mosque and buildings than any other had done since the place passed into Moslem hands.

In the plan given by Dean Stanley, the mosque marked F, with tombs of two Moslem saints, is quite out of position. It was there inserted from memory of what is shown in the Jāwaliyeh Mosque, which opens out of the passage I have marked X in Captain Conder's plan, and the other chief inaccuracy in that plan is that the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are placed at right angles to their proper position.

On the 6th of April we left Hebron, and while riding up the rough road on the east of the town, looking back we saw, on the hillside to the southwest, low down in the valley, caves exactly similar in appearance to what Machpelah must have presented to the eyes of the patriarch in its natural state. There was a field too, and trees in it in front of the cave, that recalled the very words descriptive of Machpelah in Genesis.

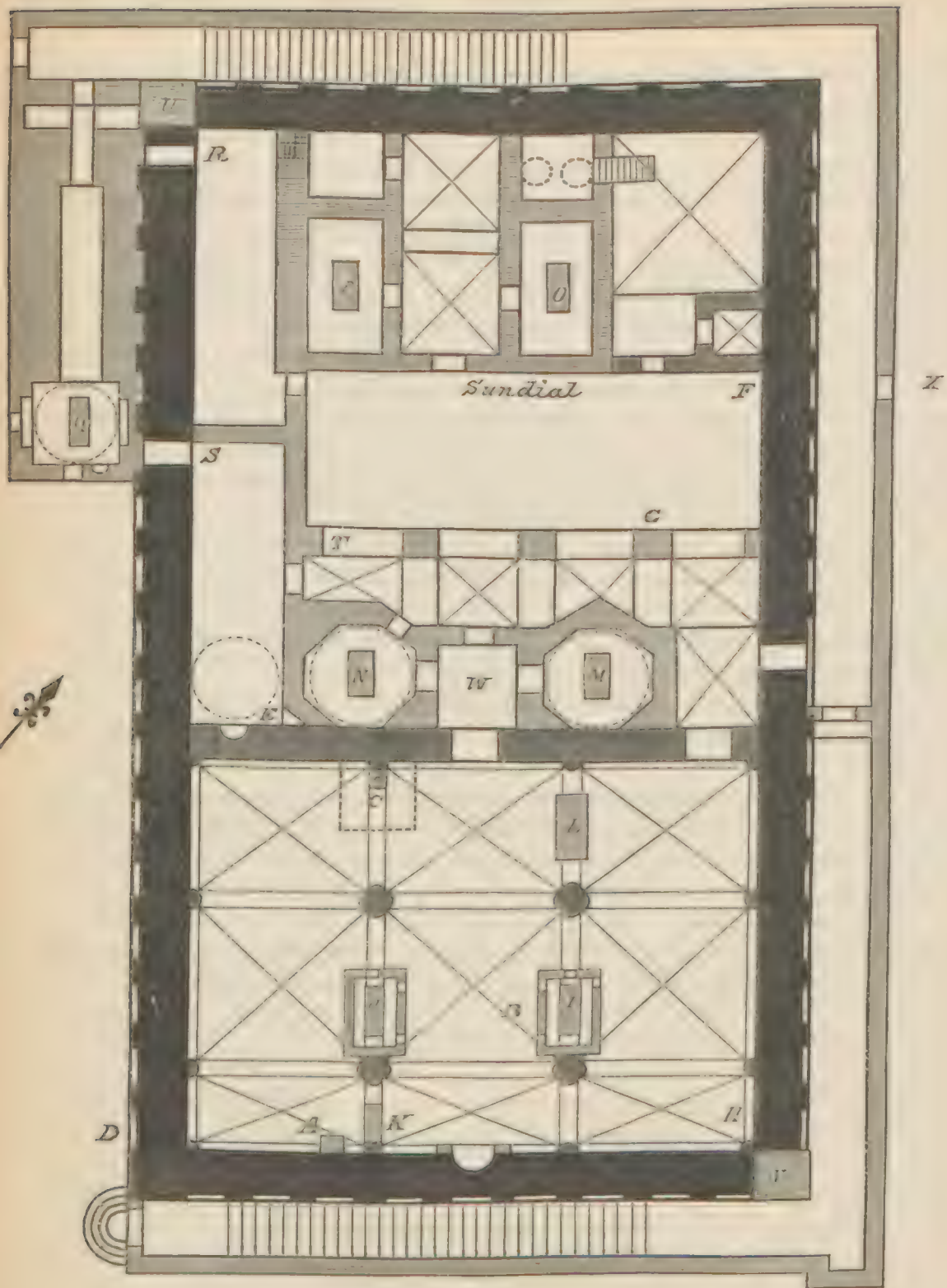
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales desires me also to forward to you the second memoir of Captain Conder, "On Points of Antiquarian Interest," newly observed by H.R.H.'s sons in Palestine and Syria.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN N. DALTON.

HEBRON HARAM.



Arab work		Herodian work	
Christian work		Recent work	

Scale of Feet

PLAN OF THE HARAM OF HEBRON.

THE doors shown on the plan, *R* and *S*, lead into the upper chamber of Joseph's Tomb. The plan actually shown is that of the most important part—the tomb chamber itself—which is below the level of *R* and *S*. On Captain Gender's return he will be asked for certain additional notes and drawings, which he possesses in his note-books.

REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES TO THE HEBRON HARAM, ON 5TH APRIL, 1882.

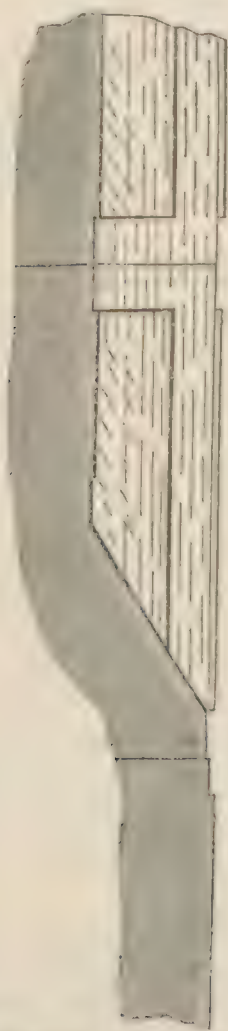
THEIR Royal Highnesses entered the enclosure at 7 a.m. on Wednesday, the 5th April, 1882, attended by Rev. J. Dalton, F.S.A. ; Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E. ; Dr. Turnbull, R.N. ; Mr. Noel Temple Moore, H.M.'s Consul for Palestine ; Captain Conder, R.E. ; Sub-Lieutenant F. B. Henderson, and Acting Sub-Lieutenant H. Evan-Thomas, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Bacchante."

The Royal party was accompanied by H.E. Raouf Pacha, Governor of Jerusalem. They visited every part of the enclosure, and remained in the Haram until 10 a.m. In the afternoon Their Royal Highnesses revisited the so-called tomb of Joseph, adjoining the enclosure, which they entered by an entrance not opened on the occasion of the morning visit. The results of these two visits add materially to the information previously obtained as to the Haram enclosure, and the accompanying plan, made on the return of the party to camp, presents considerable additions to those made on former occasions by Mr. James Fergusson and other explorers. It may be considered worthy of reliance as regards the general arrangements ; and the walls of the church were accurately measured with a 2-foot rule, while the interior of Joseph's tomb was measured with a steel tape by the Princes themselves. The exterior walls of the enclosure are calculated from careful measurements of the buttresses, and the result agrees within a foot with that obtained by Mr. Fergusson in 1864. The remaining dimensions were obtained by pacing, and are only supposed to be approximately correct.

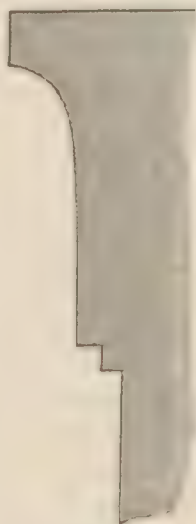
The Outer Walls.—These enclose a quadrangle measuring 197 feet in length, by 111 feet in width externally. At the four angles are buttresses, 9 feet wide on each face, and projecting 10 inches. Between these there are eight buttresses on the end walls, and sixteen buttresses on the longer side walls, each measuring 3 feet 9 inches in width, with intervals of 7 feet, and a projection of 10 inches. All these buttresses are 25 feet high, and they stand on a base wall which is flush with their faces. The top course of the base wall is bevelled between the buttresses, as shown in the attached section (No 1).

The masonry of which these walls are composed is the same throughout, including the base wall beneath the buttresses. The face of each stone (as in the older masonry of the Jerusalem Haram) is drafted on each of its four edges with a shallow and very carefully finished draft, generally about 4 inches wide, and $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch projection of the face of the stone. The tooling of the draft is executed in exactly the same manner as in the

case of the Jerusalem Haram masonry, an adze or fine toothed instrument having been employed. A second band of similar tooling, about 4 inches wide, runs round the face of the stone, immediately within the draft, and the rest of the face is carefully finished with a pointed instrument struck with a mallet, exactly as in the Jerusalem drafted masonry. The average height of the courses is 3 feet 7 inches (as also at Jerusalem), the longest stone seen measured 24 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 8½ inches in height. The



SECTION OF BUTTRENS.
No. 1.



INNER CORNICE.
No. 2.

SCALE $\frac{1}{2}$ " 6" 0 1 2 3 4 5 OF FEET

whole character of the masonry at Hebron thus reproduces so closely that found at the base of the Haram walls at Jerusalem, that it seems certain that both structures must be referred to the same building epoch. The existence of projecting buttresses on the walls of the Jerusalem Haram, has been proved by the discovery of two still remaining *in situ*, in the north-west angle of that enclosure. They were first visited in 1873, and found to stand on a base wall, the top course bevelled between the

buttresses just as above described. In the Jerusalem example the buttresses were $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, 8 feet apart, and projecting 6 inches.

The thickness of the walls thus described at Hebron is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet between the buttresses (the same as that of the Jerusalem Haram walls). The stones on the inner face of the wall are dressed plainly, without any draft. A bold cornice crowns the wall inside on the west, as shown on the accompanying section (No. 2).

The buttresses have a simple projecting cap on the outside of the wall. The level of the cornice is 25 feet above that of the interior court, which therefore coincides with the level of the top of the base wall beneath the buttresses. The same arrangement has been shown to have existed in the Jerusalem Haram, the level of the top of the bevelled course of the base wall between the buttresses coinciding with the rocky floor of the inner court of that enclosure in the north-west corner.

The inner court at Hebron is about 15 feet above the level of the street, west of the Haram, and the total height of the ancient wall, from base to cornice, is thus on an average about 40 feet.

A modern wall with battlements, plastered and whitewashed, is built on the top of the ancient ramparts. On the north, south, and east, the old enclosure is surrounded by a second of more modern masonry, forming passages with two flights of steps as shown on the plan.

The only entrance to the enclosure is through a doorway in the longer or eastern wall, at a distance of 95 feet 7 inches from the south-east angle, as measured outside the ancient wall. To this doorway the passages from the two outer gates both lead.

The bearing of the quadrangle is 50° true bearing, as carefully observed with a prismatic compass. The mihrabs, or Moslem prayer recesses, inside the mosque, thus point almost south-east.

The Church.—This building occupies the southern part of the enclosure, and three of its outer walls are formed by the ancient ramparts. The interior length, measured with a rule, is 70 feet, the breadth is 93 feet, divided into a nave and two aisles of approximately equal width. The length is divided into three bays of unequal span, the southern—furthest from the entrance—being the narrowest. They measure respectively about 25 feet, 30 feet, and 15 feet.

The nave is lighted by a clerestorey with three windows on each side. There is a low-pitched gable at the west (or rather north-west) end, having a large window with a slightly pointed arch, above which is a round window.

The roof of the nave has a ridge lower than the top of the gable, so that the round window is now outside the roof.

The interior of the roof is groined, with flat ribs and a slightly pointed section. The aisle roofs are nearly flat outside, having only a slight inclination inwards towards the walls of the clerestorey. All the roofs are covered with lead. The nave vaulting is supported on the clustered columns of the four great piers, and the vaults of the aisles spring from brackets on the side walls. The engaged columns on the inner sides of the

piers flanking the nave, are carried up to the spring of the clerestorey vaulting. The shafts of the columns are of rather heavy appearance, the capitals are chiefly adorned with thick leaves and small volutes of mediæval character, as shown in the accompanying sketch (No. 1). Another character of capital, of semi-Byzantine appearance, also occurs, as sketched. The six clerestorey windows, the large west window, and the smaller end window in the southern (or south-eastern) wall, are all pointed with a low point. Heavy external buttresses occur between the side windows. The roof of the transept, or south-eastern bay of the church, is carried across at right angles to the ridge of the gable, with a ridge at the same level, forming a T-shaped ridge, and extending to the outer walls of the aisles.

The Cave.—The most important feature of the Haram is the great cave which exists beneath the floor of the enclosure. This was not entered by the Royal party, because it was found that the only known entrances are three (A, B, C) existing in the floor of the church itself, and these are never now opened, and could only be reached by breaking up the flags of the flooring, a proceeding which would have been regarded as a desecration of the sanctuary by the Moslem custodians. The cave is described, by the Sheikh of the Mosque, as being double, and this agrees with the signification of the original name Machpelah (מַכְפֶּלֶה “division in half”), applied to the cave in which the patriarchs were buried (Gen. xxiii). In later writings, as will be shown at the end of this report, the cave is always described as being double, and in the middle ages it was known as Spelunca Duplex (“the double cave”).

The situation of two entrances was shown, as marked at the points A and B on the plan. The entrance at A was closed with stone slabs clamped with iron. These were covered with matting, and a small cupola, supported on four slender pillars, has been constructed over the spot. This entrance is said to lead to the western cave, where, or in the inner cave, the actual tombs of the patriarchs are reputed to exist. At the point B is the entrance to the eastern cave. It is closed with flagging forming the floor of the church, and also covered over with matting and carpets,¹ but there is no shrine or cupola above it.

At the point C, close to the west wall of the church, is a shaft, covered by a stone, like those at the mouths of wells in Palestine, rising above the level of the church floor. The hole in this stone is rather over a foot in diameter, and a lamp was lowered through it, by aid of which a chamber was seen below, under the floor of the church.² The floor of the

¹ The whole floor of the mosque is so covered, and without their complete removal it is impossible to say whether the surface does not contain other clamped entrances, or even portions of the live rock protruding from beneath.—J. N. D.

² The first lamp (an oil one) that was lowered gave a feeble light, and was only lowered a short distance. But at the bidding of the Pacha a larger and brighter lamp, with candles and a longer chain, was brought. This fully

chamber appeared to be about 15 feet below that of the church, and the chamber was square, and seemed to be about 12 feet either way, with vertical walls apparently covered with plaster. All four walls were well seen, and in that towards the south-east a doorway could be distinctly perceived, which has never previously been described. It is said to lead to the western cave, and it closely resembled the square doorways which give access to ancient rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The floor of the chamber was thickly strewn with sheets of paper, which have been inscribed by the Moslems with supplications to the patriarchs, and thrown down the shaft through the well mouth in the church floor.

There were no means of ascertaining whether the walls of the chamber were of rock or of masonry, but the roof appeared to be in part at least of rock, sloping down on the north from the mouth of the shaft, like that of a cave or cistern, while in the south-east corner, a piece of rock appeared to project across the angle of the chamber. It should be noted that there did not appear to be any access to this chamber, other than that through the square-headed doorway from the cave, already described. The other walls were seemingly solid throughout.

If, therefore, there ever existed any entrance to the cave from outside the Haram, or from the courtyard of the church, distinct from the two entrances A and B in the floor of the church, as above described, it would seem probable that the communication has been closed, by building up the walls of the small chamber just described visible through the shaft at C.¹ It also seems probable, from the situation and size of this antechamber, that the double cave lies entirely within the limits of the church, to the south of the door seen in the antechamber wall, and that there is no cavity extending under the floor of the inner court north-west of the church. It appears, therefore, very doubtful whether any entrances other than those at A and B exist, or have ever existed, in the northern part of the Haram. The cave probably resembles many of the rock-cut sepulchres of Palestine, with a square antechamber carefully quarried, and two interior sepulchral chambers, to which access has been made at a later period through the roofs. It is, however, possible that the antechamber may be a later addition, and partly built of masonry.

illuminated the whole vestibule beneath, and by its aid the door, walls, floor, and sides of this antechamber were clearly seen.—J. N. D.

¹ This may have been done when the level of the inner courtyard was raised to its present height. This courtyard *probably* represented originally "the field of Mamre before the cave" (Gen. xxiii, 17), and was originally entered, as I suppose, from the exterior by an entrance at R, now blocked by the buildings which are subsequently described in the memoir, and which the Princes were the first to examine. The exterior and interior of this would thus be on the same level in Herodian times. When the level was artificially, and probably gradually (with *débris* of Byzantine Church, &c.), raised 15 feet, the present approaches round the exterior of the Haram, and at a higher level, were necessitated, and are entirely Moslem.—J. N. D.

In connection with the question of the cave, it should be noted that at the point D, outside the Haram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway, there is a hole through the lowest course of the masonry, on the level of the street. It extends some distance, and is said to admit of the whole length of a lance being passed through the wall, in which case it probably communicates with the inside of the western cave, which would thus extend up to the wall at the south-west angle of the Haram.

The Cenotaphs.—The enclosure contains six large cenotaphs, standing on the floor of the church and of the adjoining buildings. They are supposed by the Moslems to stand vertically above the actual graves of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their wives, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. The monuments of Isaac and Rebecca are within the church; those of Abraham and Sarah occupy octagonal chapels in the double porch, or narthex, before the church doors, and those of Jacob and Leah are placed in chambers near the north end of the Haram.

The six monuments are thus equi-distantly disposed along the length of the enclosure, but it appears to be very doubtful whether they have any connection with the *loculi* or *sarcophagi*, which are described by early writers as existing in the cave itself.

Isaac and Rebecca have their cenotaphs, at the points (J and I) shown on the plan, within the church. They lie in the direction of the length of the nave, Isaac on the side of the right aisle. They are thus not buried in accordance with Moslem custom, as they would in such case lie at right angles to their actual position, on their right sides, with their faces turned to the Mihrab, or prayer recess.¹ The same remark applies to the four other cenotaphs, and to the two cenotaphs of Joseph without the Haram.

The cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebecca are enclosed in masonry shrines of oblong form, with gable roofs, the ridges of which are about 12 feet above the church floor. The walls and roofs of the shrines are of well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of yellowish and reddish limestone, of the kind now known as Sta Croce marble, found in the vicinity. At the gable ends are brass crescents. In the sides and roofs are windows, through which the cenotaphs are visible. A door gives access to each shrine, and is of wood, adorned with various patterns in brass work. The windows have heavy iron bars. The cenotaphs are covered with richly embroidered silk hangings, and have cloths hung as canopies above them. Manuscript copies of the Koran, in book form, are placed all round the cenotaphs, lying open on low wooden rests. The coverings of

¹ All this seems easily accounted for by the probability that the present shrines of Isaac and Rebecca occupy the positions given them by the Christians, on each side of the approach to the High Altar, which stood in front of what is now the mihrab. The shrines of the other patriarchs were doubtless also once within the church, and parallel with these, and thus really over the caves. They could not, as they do now, have stood outside, since the buildings there are all of later date and Arab work. The perforated entrance at A would thus be at the side of the High Altar, and that at B immediately in front of the altar steps, one into each cave.—J. N. D.

Isaac's cenotaph are green, and those of Rebecca's crimson, the embroidered inscriptions being in silver and gold. The same colours are used in the other cenotaphs—all the males having the deep green, which is the sacred Moslem colour, and all the females having crimson coverings. Arabic inscriptions on silver plates are fastened to the windows and doors of the shrines thus described.

Other details of the Church.—The *Mihrab*, or prayer recess of the Moslems, has been cut out of the end wall of the ancient enclosure. It is flanked by slender pillars, with richly carved capitals of Gothic design, and by two wax torches. Above the *mihrab* is a window of stained glass, resembling those in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, which date about 1528 A.D. The glass in this instance has, however, a peculiarity in the large opaque discs, which are arranged, in the form of an hour-glass, as a border to the richly coloured pattern of the main design.

It appears probable that the *mihrab* was cut out by the Moslems at a comparatively late period; the marble veneer is in late style, and the recess is too small to have been intended for an apse. The original church had probably no apses, for, although this is very unusual in Crusading buildings, it was in the present instance impossible to form apses at the ends of the nave and aisles, without destroying the great rampart wall which constitutes the eastern (or south-eastern) end of the church.

In one corner of the left aisle, at the point H, a Greek inscription is built into the wall. It has been painted red, and was copied some time since, and published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" (vol. xvi, p. 337). It contains an invocation to Abraham to bless and protect certain individuals at whose expense it was erected, and probably dates about the time of Justinian.

The *Minbar*, or pulpit (K on the plan), stands on the right of the *mihrab*. It is beautifully constructed of cabinet work, resembling that in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem. This appears to be the pulpit mentioned by Mejr ed Dîn as bearing the date 484 A.H. (1091 A.D.), which was given to the mosque by Saladin in 1187 A.D., after the capture of Ascalon. The similar pulpit at Jerusalem was also brought from Damascus, where it was made for Saladin.

The *Merhala*, or reading platform, at the point L on the plan, is similar to those in other mosques intended for the public reading of the Koran.

The walls of the church are veneered with marble inside to a height of 6 feet. Above this casing runs a band of Arabic inscriptions.¹ The form of the characters seems to show that these texts are not of great antiquity, and they are probably not earlier than the end of the 12th century. Above this, again, the walls are whitewashed, and the name of

¹ These inscriptions are made on plaster, which is laid over a miniature imitation of arcade work in tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl. In many places pieces of this plaster have fallen off, and reveal the work beneath, which is very similar to that we afterwards saw in the great mosque at Damascus. In the vestibule which I have marked W (outside the shrine of Abraham), it is nearly complete all round the four sides.—J. N. D.

God, with that of Mohammed, Aly, and other early heroes of Islam, are painted in black, on medallions attached to the walls. The piers and pillars are whitewashed, and the capitals are painted yellow. Above the marble veneer, in places, the remains of a mosaic of small designs, with mother-of-pearl inlay, are seen, and a good deal of this also remains on the wall immediately outside the central entrance to the church.

On the west side of the right aisle a channel is formed in the floor, close to the wall, leading to a grating in the corner. This is said to be used in washing the hands by the Moslem worshippers.

The Porch or Narthex.—This is double, as shown, and vaulted with a groined roof resting on heavy piers. It includes the two octagonal chapels in which are the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah. From the irregular manner in which these are built in, it would appear probable that the chapels are older than the roofing and piers of the porch. The whole of these structures are evidently later than the church itself. A flat lead covers the porch, and three small lead domes rise from it over the two cenotaphs and over the vaulted chamber towards the west, hereafter to be described. The entrance doors of the church are concealed, and the whole effect of the façade is spoiled by these additions.

The *Shrine of Abraham* was entered. The cenotaph is about 8 feet long, and 8 feet high, and 4 feet broad. It is covered with a green and white silk covering, embroidered with Arabic texts in gold thread. Two green banners, with gold lettering, are placed leaning against the cenotaph. The entrance to the shrine is closed by open-barred gates, stated to be iron plated with silver, and bearing an inscription in silver letters, which gives the date 1239 A.D., with an invocation to Abraham. The pattern of these gates, with heavy globular sockets for the cross-bars, is exactly that found at Damascus and elsewhere, in the best Arab ironwork. The walls of the shrine or chapel are cased with marble, and have gilt inscriptions in Arabic letters running at the top of the wall near the springing of the dome. Silver lamps and ostrich-shells are hung before the cenotaph, and copies of the Koran, on low wooden rests, surround it.

A fine window of stained glass, similar to that already described in the church, lights the shrine from the side of the porch; round the coloured design are discs of opaque glass, as in the former window, the border in this case consisting of nine discs, arranged up the sides and round the head of the window, which is semi-circular.

The *Shrine of Sarah* was not entered. It resembles that of Abraham, with open-barred gates and a domed roof. The coverings of the cenotaph are of crimson silk, with gold inscriptions on a black ground, on squares let into the crimson.

The piers and arches of the porch are faced with well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of buff and red stone. On the pier, at G, is an inscription in Arabic, stating that the porch was restored in 1172 A.H., by the then governor of Damascus (1755 A.D.). At the west end of the porch is a small *sebil*, or water cistern, for ablutions.

The Courtyard.—This is the only part of the interior of the Haram

which is open to the air. On the south-east, the arches of the porch (which are pointed) open upon it. At the opposite side are the buildings enclosing the shrines of Jacob and Leah. On the other two sides the court is bounded by the ancient ramparts, and by the vaulted chamber or mosque in front of Joseph's tomb.

On this side the wall is formed by archways filled in with masonry. The arches are pointed, and the ashlar is in alternate reddish and yellowish bands, as before noticed in the arches of the porch. The north (or north-west) wall is of small masonry, well dressed, and with a tooling finished with a fine adze, but without any mason's marks, and having all the appearance of good Arab work. On the inside of the ancient rampart, at the point F, about 5 feet from the ground, is a short Greek inscription, or graffita, evidently cut after the stone was *in situ*. The form of the letters is of Byzantine period.

NEN^oV
ABPAM^uIOV
MANOV^c

The constructions, coloured brown, in the corner of the courtyard, appear to be more modern than any other part of the building. A straight joint divides this part of the wall of the court from the rest. Steps lead up to a small chamber at a higher level. The character of the masonry is poorer, and looks more modern.

The chambers at the north (or north-west) end of the court were, for the first time, thoroughly examined during the Royal visit, and the new plan here differs considerably from those formerly attempted.

The *Shrines of Jacob and Leah* are visible through open-barred gates from the passage between them, which has a groined roof in two bays. The cenotaphs, with green and red hangings respectively, resemble those already described. There is a small chamber behind Jacob's shrine which was entered, but proved to be only a lumber room. The corresponding chamber behind the shrine of Leah contains two circular cells or copper-like hollows, which are said to be now used for storing oil. The shafts in their roofs were seen in the floor of a chamber reached by steps from the vaulted apartment in the north-east angle of the Haram, as shown on the plan. The floor of this upper chamber is 8 feet above the level of the courtyard.

The long chamber, reached from the door in the north-west angle of the court, is empty. From it steps ascend, as shown, to the minaret, which stands on the corner of the ancient rampart (at U). A second minaret stands at the opposite or south-east angle (at V).

In the north-west angle of the long chamber a wooden door was broken open (at R). It was found to lead, through the thickness of the ancient rampart wall, into a vaulted chamber with groined, pointed arches, having a very broad, flat rib. The chamber measured about 50 feet by 20 feet, one side being formed by the outer face of the ancient rampart. It stands upon substructions, forming a passage to the lower tomb of Joseph, subsequently

explored. Near¹ the north end wall was a structure which at first sight looked like the head of a stairway with the steps covered over. It is said to be a place now used for melting lead. No remains of any staircase were found in afterwards exploring the passage beneath. Large windows looked down from the chamber thus described into the enclosure of the *Kal'ah*, or fortress, which has been built against the Haram on this side. The chamber, with other vaulted substructures built against the Haram wall, dates probably from the later Moslem period after the Crusades.

The Shrine of Joseph adjoins the exterior chamber just described. It is reached through a vaulted gallery, in the corner of which is the shrine of Adam's footprint. The cenotaph of Joseph is covered with pale green silk, having white lettering. The chamber has a lantern of octagonal shape, surmounted by a dome covered with lead. There is a second square chamber beneath, with a domed roof, containing also a cenotaph covered with green silk. This is entered by a passage just within the north gate of the Haram—explored in the second or afternoon visit by the two Princes themselves. The lower tomb is on the level of the base of the ancient rampart wall, or 15 feet below the upper cenotaph, entered from the interior of the Haram.

The whole of the workmanship of the shrine of Joseph, and of the other exterior chambers adjoining the Haram, appears to be of Arab origin. The chamber adjoining the upper shrine of Joseph has a flat lead roof, on the same level with that from which the small dome above the shrine now springs.

The back wall of the lower chamber, containing the second cenotaph of Joseph, was ascertained by careful measurement to have a thickness of 2 feet 2 inches. It covers the ancient rampart wall, and has been conjectured to conceal an entrance through the old wall at the level of its base, leading to the cave under the church. The wall is plastered and whitewashed, and if such an entrance ever really existed, no signs of it are now visible.²

The Prophet's Footprint.—This sacred footprint, variously called that of

¹ Not "near," but projecting from. The structure consists of two small walls of smooth cut stone, about 3 feet high, jutting out for about the same distance from the north wall of the chamber. Lead, we were told, is sometimes melted there for mending the roof, but the place originally was not made at all for such a purpose, and there is no reason why lead should be melted in that particular spot rather than anywhere else.—J. N. D.

² It is scarcely to be expected that the entrance in the Haram wall would be visible through an Arab-built wall over 2 feet thick, in front of it, and erected intentionally to conceal it. If the original entrance was not here in Christian times, where it would be most suitable and convenient from the castle, when the level of the inner courtyard was 15 feet lower than now, it is difficult to see where else it could have been. The whole Haram formed a bulwark to, and was embodied as part of, the castle; and the present entrance on the outside of the castle by the *Jāwāliyyeh* Mosque without any flanking protection would have been most unnatural, especially at such a high level. The present arrange-

Adam, or of the prophet (قدم النبي Kadam en Neby), is preserved in one corner of the vaulted gallery leading to the upper tomb of Joseph, in the end wall of which a *mihrab*, or prayer recess, has been constructed close to the footprint.

The relic, which is said to have been brought from Mecca some 600 years ago, consists of a slab of stone with a sunk portion resembling the impression of a human foot of ordinary size. It is enclosed in a recess at the back of the shrine of Abraham, and placed on a sort of shelf about 3 feet from the floor. Such relics occur in many other Syrian mosques, as, for instance, in the Dome of the Rock, and in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem, where the footprints of Mohammed and of Christ respectively are shown. There is a small lead dome above the end of the vaulted gallery close to this last shrine.

Discoveries.—The principal new discoveries due to the Royal visit, as detailed in the preceding pages, are—

1st. The discovery of the position of the entrance B, said to lead to the eastern cave. The entrance A has been mentioned by former explorers.

2nd. The description of the appearance of the antechamber, and the discovery of the door visible leading thence to the cave within.

3rd. The exploration of the passage leading to the lower cenotaph of Joseph, and the discovery of this cenotaph, which has not been previously described.

4th. The exploration of the various chambers adjoining the courtyard, which have never been correctly represented on former plans.¹

All that now remains to be done on the occasion of any future visit is to obtain access into the cave itself. This cave is, however, never visited by Moslems, and it has probably not been entered for 700 years at least. Access might be obtained either by opening one of the two entrances A or B, now identified, or possibly by removing the stone over the shaft at C, and lowering a ladder into the antechamber. The latter would probably be the most expeditious method, but either would be regarded by the Moslems with extreme repugnance.²

ment of entrances makes the Haram an adjunct of the Jâwalîyeh Mosque; the Christian arrangement made it an adjunct of the castle, and probably utilised the original Herodian entrance. But nothing except excavations in the interior can ever set this question at rest. Sir C. Wilson's suggestion, at page 214, coincides with the above notion, that the original Herodian and Christian entrance to the Haram was at this corner.—J. N. D.

¹ Fifthly, we ascended the minaret at the north-west corner, and spent some time on the parapets of the Haram, and thus had the best means of verifying the accuracy of the subjoined plan of the area. There is a walk all round the parapets of the Haram, and communication thus with the minaret at the south-east corner, to which we did not perceive any door from below, neither was such to be expected, since the minaret was built on the solid Herodian wall at a much later period. Access to the minaret at U was obtained by a staircase from the roof.—J. N. D.

² Such repugnance would be, however, only temporary; as soon as entrance

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE HARAM.

It is remarkable that no historical notice is known to exist of the building of the great quadrangle surrounding the sacred cave. The cave of Machpelah is not noticed in the Bible, save in connection with the burial of the patriarchs, and there is no reason to believe that any building was erected on the spot before the captivity.

In the Talmud (*Tal. Bab. Erubin*, 53*a*) Hebron is said to have been called Kirjath Arba (*i.e.*, city of *the four*, cf. Gen. xxiii, 2, and Neh. xi, 25), because four patriarchs with their wives were there buried, including Adam and Eve. This tradition is continually repeated by later writers, including Jerome. Arculphus, in 700 A.D., speaks of the tomb of Adam as north of the others, and many mediæval writers mention the cave near Hebron, in which Adam and Eve are supposed to have lived.

In the 12th century, however, the tradition appears to have undergone a change (probably because the tomb of Adam was then shown under Calvary).

Sawulf, in 1102 A.D., mentions the tomb of Joseph as existing at the extremity of the castle, possibly where now shown.

It may be inferred from the wording of a passage in Josephus ("Antiq.," II, viii, 2), that some of the later Jews believed Joseph to have been buried with his ancestors at Hebron, an idea originating perhaps in jealousy of the Samaritans, who possessed the real tomb of Joseph at Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 32).

A curious tradition concerning the death of Esau is also noticed in the Talmud (*Sotah* i, 13). A quarrel occurred at the burial of Jacob, between his sons and Esau, concerning their right to sepulture in the cave. Hushin, son of Dan, cut off Esau's head and left it in the cave, his body being buried elsewhere. The Arab historian, Jelâl ed Din, in the 15th century, repeats this story, and the grave of Esau is still shown at Sia'ir, north of Hebron.

Josephus ("Wars," IV, ix, 7) speaks of the monuments (*μνημεια*) of the patriarchs at Hebron as existing in his own times, "the fabrics of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner."

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) is the next to describe the site. He speaks of a square *memoria* of marvellously beautiful masonry, in which were placed the three patriarchs and their three wives. It appears probable that he alludes to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, which are therefore generally referred (by Mr. James Fergusson and other authorities) to a period earlier than the Christian era.

had been once effected and no one was one whit the worse, the feeling would be rather one of admiration, for those who had penetrated the interior in a reverent manner, than enmity towards them. This has been shown more than once before in opening up other sacred spots. Raouf Pacha said that repairs to the fabric were about to be undertaken, and that it was his full determination then, if possible, to penetrate to the cave if he found any means of entry.—J. N. D.

In 383 A.D., Sta Paula visited the "cells of Sarah," and the resting-place of Isaac, but no notice is made by St. Jerome in this narration of the other patriarchs. In connection with this account it should be noted that the Moslems attach far more importance to the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca, at the present day, than to those of the other patriarchs at Hebron.¹ Isaac receives among them the title of "jealous," and is thought to strike with blindness or death any who approach his shrine. The shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are the only two which seem probably to stand over the actual caves, and Jelâl ed Dîn says that Jacob was buried "before the entrance to the sepulchral cave," which agrees with the present position of his cenotaph, and with what has been already said as to the probable extent of the cave.

In 600 A.D., Antoninus Martyr describes a Basilica of quadrangular form, with an inner atrium open to the sky. Jews and Christians then entered by different gates to burn incense at the shrine.

In 700 A.D., Bishop Arculphus gives a very detailed account of the site. He mentions that "contrary to the usual custom the patriarchs lie with their feet to the south and heads to the north, and they are enclosed by a square low wall." This would apply to the present position of the cenotaphs, and possibly to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, before the modern battlemented wall was built above. "Each of the tombs is covered" (Arculphus continues) "with a single stone worked somewhat in the form of a church, and of a light colour for those of the three patriarchs, which are together."² This seems to indicate sarcophagi such as are found throughout Palestine belonging to the Roman period, or possibly cenotaphs like those at present existing. "Arculphus also saw poorer and smaller monuments of the three women, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, who were here buried in the earth."

¹ They are the only ones now shown within the mosque, and I believe the oldest of the six, and probably the same or like those which stood there in the Crusading and Byzantine churches. They would be each side of the approach to the High Altar; and the hearse-like canopies of stone that surround these two cenotaphs, with their open work, as represented on the plan, resemble those found in Christian buildings, and are altogether different to anything over the other four shrines. These stand, therefore, probably *in situ*. In the Christian arrangement of the church an altar probably stood at the end of each side-aisle: Abraham's in the south-east, Isaac's in the centre, and Jacob's in the south-west. This arrangement of separate altars would resemble that which existed in the church on Tabor, where Moses and Elijah each had a separate altar and side chapel.—J. N. D.

² The three patriarchs' shrines *seem* then to have been shown to Arculphus inside the church, Isaac where he is now, and perhaps Abraham where Rebecca's shrine now is, and Jacob nearer the door, to the south of C, "before the entrance to the cave," as Jelâl-ed-Dîn describes. The three women's shrines were then outside, apparently in the courtyard. Afterwards (1102) they were brought more comfortably inside, and in a more Christian manner each lady was placed by her husband. Rebecca would repose with Isaac under his

In 1102 A.D., Sewulf further describes the Haram :—“On the eastern side of Hebron are the monuments of the holy patriarchs, of ancient workmanship, surrounded by a very strong castle, each of the three monuments being like a great church, with two sarcophagi placed in a very honourable fashion within, that is, one for the man and one for the woman. But the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel, as he charged them, brought with them out of Egypt, are buried more humbly than the rest, as it were, at the extremity of the castle.”

Among Crusading writers, John of Wurtzburg (1100 A.D.), Theodoricus (1172 A.D.), and Jacques of Vitry (1220 A.D.), still speak of the fourth tomb as being that of Adam.¹

In 1100 A.D. Hebron was bestowed by Godfrey of Bouillon on Gerhard of Avennes, as a fief. In 1167 the town was made the see of a Bishop, having been previously only a priory (*see* “William of Tyre,” xx. 3). In 1187 A.D. the place was taken by Saladin. Hebron is rarely mentioned by Crusading historians, but there is no reason to doubt that it remained for eighty-eight years in the hands of the Christians; and the erection of a church would probably have taken place during this period.²

Mejr-ed-Din the Arab historian, writing in 1495 A.D., speaks of the mosque at Hebron as the work of the Greeks (*Rām*), by which terms the Greek Christians are intended. Jelal ed Din about the same time says that the Moslems destroyed the church when Saladin took Hebron, but it appears probable that the destruction, as in other cases, only extended

present canopy, Sarah with Abraham in that which is now called Rebecca's, and Leah and Jacob in a similar one nearer the door of the church, but now removed. Of the two entrances to the church, that in the centre was probably the one for the Christians, and the other, on the north-east, for the Jews who would thus readily obtain access by this side door to the left aisle, and so to the spot where it is suggested that Abraham's shrine then stood. It seems also possible that the two entrances (R and S) through the Haram wall may also have been thus appropriated, one for the Christians and the other for the Jews. That these two entrances should have been afterwards broken through the thickness of the Haram wall, merely as doors to the later shrine of Joseph and to the adjoining empty chamber, seems very improbable. The eastern cave, in which Benjamin of Tudela describes the six tablets to be, is that under B. The aisle above this would be the most revered, and at its end stood, as above suggested, the altar of Abraham; and the invocatory graffiti inscriptions, both at H and F, would seem to endorse the belief that this was the side of the church and enclosure more peculiarly invested with his tutelage.—J. N. D.

¹ This fourth tomb would thus take the vacant place at L, and the arrangement would be very neat: Adam and Eve reposing at L (as Arculphus describes Adam's tomb, to the north of the others), Abraham and Sarah at I, Isaac and Rebecca at J, and Jacob and Leah near C.—J. N. D.

² On almost the same lines probably as the previously existing Byzantine church over the caves, portions of which may even have worked into the present church, some of the capitals in which are of ‘semi-Byzantine character’ (p. 3).—J. N. D.

to the desecration of the altars, and of the images and pictures of the Christians (and rearrangement of the shrines).

The most circumstantial account of the cave existing is that given by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in 1163 A.D. He visited the Haram during the period of the Christian occupation, and speaks of it as "a large place of worship called St. Abraham," a title which is commonly applied to the Haram by the Christian writers of the 12th century. "The Gentiles" (or Christians), he writes, "have erected six sepulchres in this place" (probably the existing cenotaphs¹) "which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew comes, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the times of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hands the visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third which contains six sepulchres—those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, one opposite the other.

"All these sepulchres bear inscriptions, the letters being engraved; thus upon that of our father Abraham we read

זה מבר אברהם אבנו
על יוהשלום.

'This is the tomb of Abraham our father, upon him be peace,' and so on that of Isaac and all the other sepulchres. A lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepulchres continually, both night and day, and you there see tubs filled with the bones of Israelites; for unto this day it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring thither the bones of their forefathers and to leave them there."

Tubs or arks like those mentioned by Rabbi Benjamin are described in the Talmud, and many of them have been found, bearing rude Hebrew inscriptions, in tombs near Jerusalem. They are generally now called osteophagi; and the mention of such a detail in connection with the Hebron cave seems to render it probable that the account is genuine, and that Rabbi Benjamin actually obtained admission to the interior. He appears to have entered through the existing antechamber, but no steps are now found in this chamber, so far as can be ascertained by looking down from above. The inscriptions on the tombs, if they really existed, were probably not of great antiquity.

After the Moslem conquest it appears to have become very difficult for even Jews to enter the cave. In 1210 A.D., Rabbi Samuel bar Simson

¹ Scarcely so. More probably, as described by Sæwulf, the six were in three pairs, each pair under its own canopy, and all within the church, and more or less over the caves. But even then they were only shown as cenotaphs, not as actually containing the bodies of the patriarchs and their wives. These were, of course, in the vault or cave below.—J. N. D.

claims, however, to have visited the interior. "We descended," he writes in his itinerary, "by twenty-four steps, very narrow and without means of turning to the right hand or the left. We saw there the place of the Holy House, and we noticed these monuments. This place has been erected 600 years since (*i.e.*, *circa* 600 A.D.). It is near the cavern." This account is too confused to be of much value. (By the Holy House he appears to mean the church.)

In the "Jichus ha Aboth," a tract, dating from 1537 A.D., the Haram is also described: "An admirable and magnificent edifice, attributed to King David, on whom be peace. Near the door is a little window in the wall;¹ they pretend that it extends to the cavern: it is here that the Jews pray, as they are not allowed to go into the interior."

From the Arab historians Makrizi and Mejr-ed-Din, we learn that the buildings round the courtyard were erected in 732 A.H. (1331 A.D.), by the Mameluke Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelawun, and that the tomb of Joseph was built by the Emir Jaghmuri in 1393 A.D. The Arab accounts of the cave are untrustworthy and unimportant. In 1322 Sir John Maundeville says that no Christian might enter the Haram. (It had then been made an adjunct of the mosque by the erection of Joseph's tomb in front of the original entrances.)

CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DATES OF THE BUILDINGS.

1. The rampart walls are evidently all of one period up to the height of the cornice. The style is (as has been shown) exactly similar to that of ancient masonry of the Jerusalem Haram, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the two enclosures are to be referred to the same period. A careful consideration of the history and architecture of the Jerusalem Haram appears to lead to the conclusion that its ramparts, as now standing, were first erected by Herod the Great, and that the drafted masonry cannot be considered to date earlier than about the time of the Christian era. This view has been carefully elaborated by the Duc du Vogüé, and other authorities, and it agrees with the conclusions reached by Mr. James Fergusson as to the date of the Hebron Haram walls, his argument being based on historical rather than on architectural grounds. The Haram existed in the 4th century A.D., but there is no notice of any such structure in the Hasmonean or any earlier period. The only period between these limits to which it can be referred with any probability is the great building epoch of the reign of Herod the Great.

2. The character of the architecture of the church is closely similar to that of the Crusading churches of Palestine. The clustered columns, with the shafts carried up the clerestorey walls, and supporting ribbed groins, resemble those of the church of St. John at Samaria, dating between 1150 and 1180 A.D. The capitals resemble those of the Samaritan church,

¹ This may be the same hole described above, close to the southern entrance, resembling the little window in the bevelled stones pictured at page 200 of the second volume of the "Memoirs."—J. N. D.

and also those of the church at Birch, north of Jerusalem, which was completed by the Templars in 1146 A.D. The general style, and the roofing, closely resemble the details of the church of St. John at Gaza, dating about 1152 A.D. The pointed arches of the windows indicate that the church does not belong to the earliest Crusading period, as the round arch was used for half a century after the Crusaders took Jerusalem. It appears, however, quite safe to attribute the building of the Hebron church to the latter half of the 12th century, probably about the year 1167 A.D., when the town became a bishopric. The low pitch of the roof may, perhaps, indicate that it has been rebuilt at a later period; but, on the other hand, the vaulting of the clerestory and aisles is much more like Crusading than Arab work.

3. The earliest Arab work appears historically to belong to the year 1331 A.D.; the tomb of Joseph to 1393 A.D., and the outer gates, with the passages and flights of steps, which have the character of the best Arab work, to the same period—the 14th century, during which, fine buildings were erected by Moslems in Jerusalem, Damascus, and other parts of Syria. The stained glass windows are probably not earlier than the 16th century. Restorations in the courtyard date from the end of the 18th century, and additional adornments of the shrine have been given by Moslem rulers at a yet later period. The chambers in the north-east angle belong to a later period than the rest of the Arab buildings in and around the courtyard. The pavement is also comparatively modern, and probably later than the Crusading work.

The accompanying plan gives in colours the various building periods thus enumerated, the original Herodian masonry being shown in black, the mediæval Christian work in red, and the later Arab work in yellow (14th century) and in brown. The attached note by Sir C. Wilson was written on reading the original rough draft, of which the present report is an amplification.

CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER,
Captain Royal Engineers.

NOTE BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR C. WILSON,
C.B., K.C.M.G., R.E.

I HAVE read through Captain Conder's report on the Hebron Haram, and have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the accuracy of his remarks.

A close inspection of the masonry of the Haram showed that it was identical in character with that of the Wailing Place in the wall of the Jerusalem Haram, and therefore almost certainly Herodian. This may throw some light on the character of the exterior wall of the Temple of Herod. Both at Jerusalem and Hebron, a level platform is obtained by massive walls of large stones, with marginal drafts. At Hebron a

surrounding wall, ornamented with pilasters, rises to a height of 25 feet above the platform, and it is probable that Herod's Temple enclosure was surrounded by a similar wall, which has long since disappeared, with the exception of a solitary fragment which was discovered by Captain Conder a few years ago. It would indeed almost seem as if the Hebron Haram were a copy in miniature of the Temple enclosure at Jerusalem.

As regards the question of an entrance to the caves, it may be remarked that the whitewash on the walls of the chamber (at C on the plan) was white, clean, and apparently of no great age; and that the papers on the ground did not seem to be old. From this it may be inferred that the chamber, whence there is an entrance to the cave, is periodically visited and cleaned by the guardians of the mosque.

It appeared to me that access to the chamber might be obtained by removing the perforated stone at the point C on the plan. This stone rises above the floor of the mosque, and is pierced by a circular hole a little more than 12 inches in diameter; I noticed, however, that beneath the floor the hole became larger, and, if the stone were removed, I believe a man could be lowered by means of a rope.

It is possible that the original entrance was similar in design to that at "Barclay's Gateway," in the Jerusalem Haram, and that the portal in the massive masonry is concealed by the buildings known as Joseph's Tomb. It seemed quite clear that some entrance to the caves beneath the level of the platform was closed by the wall of the chamber at C, opposite the small square doorway. The pavement at A, which is secured by iron clamps, and which is said to cover a flight of steps, did not seem to have been disturbed for many years. The arrangements for reaching the cave by a flight of steps in one corner of the church is similar to that adopted by the Crusaders when building the church at "David's Tomb" at Jerusalem.

C. W. WILSON, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

Jerusalem,

April 8th, 1882.

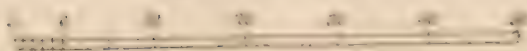
TOUR OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES IN PALESTINE.

THE Royal party reached Jaffa on Tuesday, 28th March, and re-embarked at Beirut on 6th May, having thus passed forty days on shore, during thirty-one of which they were travelling. The total length of the route

MAP SHEWING THE ROYAL TOUR.



Scale of Miles.



was approximately 585 English miles, giving an average of 18½ miles per diem. The longest distances accomplished were 28 miles on the 13th and again on 17th April, and 32 miles on the 25th April. The length of the route east of Jordan was about 115 English miles.

The following notes refer only to such points of antiquarian interest as were newly observed during the Royal tour, some of which are of considerable importance. A short memoir is also attached, concerning the antiquities from Palmyra, presented to Their Royal Highnesses by Sheikh Mijwel at Damascus, one of which is considered to be of considerable value.

Jerusalem.—While visiting the chapel of Calvary in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, special attention was directed to the so-called “rent in the rock,” which is shown on the right side of the Greek altar. The metal slide here covers a long slit in the marble flagging, and this was removed, and by aid of a light the live rock was distinctly seen, with a crevice which appears to extend downwards to that which is shown in the chapel of Adam, a cave beneath the Calvary chapel. The fact that the chapel of Calvary stands, in part at least, on a high rock, rising 15 feet above the general level of the church, is thus demonstrated, and the level of the rock at this point is determined as 2,495 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. The demonstration thus obtained of the existence of a natural hill or cliff at this point is not, however, sufficient to prove the genuineness of the tradition which identifies the spot with Calvary; but it has considerable importance in connection with other topographical questions in Jerusalem archaeology.

Tomb of Esau.—In travelling from Hebron to Bethlehem the route led through the small village of Sia’ir, situated in a valley. On the south side of the village is a modern Moslem building, sacred to *el’Ais*, who was stated by the local Sheikh to have been the son of “Isaac the jealous,” that is to say, his eldest son Esau. This place has been rarely visited, but the tradition is of considerable antiquity. According to a common Moslem tradition, which is derived from a Jewish source, the head of Esau was buried in the cave of Machpelah, but his body in the tomb now under consideration. It appears probable that the idea may have arisen in consequence of the resemblance between the name Sia’ir and the Hebrew Seir, the country of Esau. The village has, however, been identified with the Zior of the Book of Joshua (xv, 54), and Mount Seir was really situated much further south, in the vicinity of Petra.

The tomb shown as that of Esau is a cenotaph, 12 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet high. It is covered with a dull green cloth, having a border of red, yellow, and white; above it is a canopy. The cenotaph stands in a bare whitewashed room, 15 paces by 8 paces, having on the south wall a mihrab, and on the north side a door to a vaulted outer chamber of equal size; on the east is an open courtyard, with another tomb, said to be that of Esau’s servant. A fig-tree grows beside it. An ostrich egg and numerous rags are placed near Esau’s tomb as offerings. The place is greatly venerated, and it is usually difficult to

obtain access to the interior, as the village lies in a remote district, where the Moslems are still, to a certain extent, fanatical.¹

Kusr Hafilah.—This interesting monastery in the plains of Jericho was visited on 8th April, and was found to be undergoing repair by the Russian Greeks, after having remained nearly eight centuries in ruins. It is worthy of notice that all the ancient frescoes which adorned the walls of the two chapels, within the precincts of the monastery, have been entirely destroyed by the monks. These frescoes were among the most interesting in Palestine. They included figures representing John Eleemon, Patriarch of Jerusalem (630 A.D.), Andrew of Crete, Silvester Pope of Rome (probably the famous Silvester II, 998 A.D.), and Sophronius of Jerusalem. A curious representation of the Resurrection of the Saints also occurred in the smaller chapel. The character of the inscriptions indicated that these frescoes belonged probably to the 12th or 13th century. Not a vestige of them now remains, but the inscriptions and the principal designs were copied by Captain Conder in 1873, and are to be published in the third volume of the Memoirs to the Survey of Western Palestine.

This incident is mentioned as showing the way in which many interesting and valuable monuments have been rescued from oblivion by the Palestine Exploration Fund during the last ten years, and also as showing the necessity of extending the operations of the Society, before the destruction which is rapidly overtaking many important monuments in Syria shall have had time to do more mischief.

Arâk el Emir.—This fine ruin, the ancient Tyrus, where a palace was built by Hircanus, son of Joseph Tobias, about 180 B.C. (Josephus, "Antiq.," XII, iv, 11), was explored on 10th April. A curious Arab tradition was collected on the spot, according to which the palace now known as Kasr el 'Abd ("the slave's house") was erected by a certain black slave, who was in love with the daughter of the Emir, from whom the place is now named 'Arâk el Emir, or "the Emir's cliff." The princess had promised, during the absence of her father on a pilgrimage, to marry the slave if he would build her a palace to live in; but while he was engaged in the work the Emir suddenly appeared, the slave committed suicide, and was burnt by the Emir, who placed a stone upon his body. The place where the Emir, mounted on his horse, first reappeared is shown: it is a knoll due east of the palace, and is still called *Matall el Hisân* ("the rising of the horse").

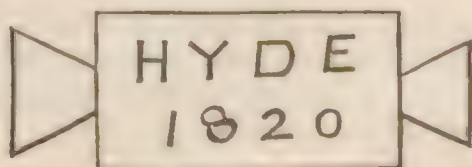
The interest of this story lies in the fact that it is probably a well-defined solar myth, surviving among the Arabs. Taken by itself, this conclusion might be considered doubtful, but during the year 1881 the Survey party collected many other tales of similar character among the Arabs of Moab, which serve as contributions to a subject as yet little studied, namely, the folk-lore of Semitic races. In the present instance, the horseman appearing in the east recalls the Vedic Asvinan brothers, and the Persian Mithra—the sun, or daylight. The black slave burnt up

¹ Several green-turbaned folk were sitting by the entrance when we visited it, and at first objected grumblingly to our approach till they saw the Turkish escort, and were addressed in Arabic by Captain Conder.—J. N. D.

on his appearance is evidently an emblem of the night, and the princess who is thus freed from him is probably, like the Phœnician Andromeda and many other mythical maidens, an impersonation of the dawn, or of the moon. The great size of the masonry of the ruined palace of Hyrcanus probably accounts for the supernatural agency which is thus supposed to have conduced to its construction, and for the localisation of the myth. Many of the tales related by the Arabs east of Jordan are evidently of Persian origin, but it is known that in the 6th century A.D. the Persians had already translated Indian folk-lore stories, and that these were again rendered into Syriac and Arabic from Pehlevi. Persian buildings of the 6th century have also been discovered in Moab and Gilead, and the survival of Aryan myths among a Semitic people is thus less difficult to explain than might at first appear.

'Ammân.—The Royal party explored the principal points of interest, and examined the group of magnificent dolmens discovered by the Royal Engineers a few months previously. The citadel at 'Ammân includes a very interesting building, apparently of Persian origin, which is ascribed by Professor Hayter Lewis to the 11th or 12th century. During the Royal visit the remains of a second building of the same kind were examined, near the north wall of the citadel. They had been already planned by the Survey party, but several pieces of architectural detail, which serve to throw light on the style and date of the structure, were now newly discovered and sketched.

Es Salt.—This small town is the seat of a Kaimakâm, or Lieutenant-Governor. The remains of a strong castle, with a rock-cut fosse, dominate the place; the foundations seem clearly to belong to the Crusading period. The present name of the place is a corruption of the Latin *saltes* ("a grove"), and is supposed to have been given in consequence of the neighbouring woods. South of the town a curious Byzantine building was examined, on the right of the valley of 'Ain Jeidûr. It was evidently first constructed as a tomb, rock-cut, with loculi at the sides, and a front wall of masonry having a heavy lintel to the door. At a later period it seems to have been used as a Christian chapel, the walls being covered with stucco and painted in fresco, while small niches were cut in the eastern wall opposite the entrance. The remains of a nimbus, once surrounding the head of a frescoed saint, are still visible. Many human bones were lying in the loculi. A native Christian gave the curious information that, a massacre of martyrs having once occurred here, drops of blood still distil at intervals from a crack in the lintel of the entrance door. This superstition belongs to a very common class of religious ideas among the native Christians of Syria. A small tablet, painted in red with the name of an early explorer, was observed on the side wall of this monument—



About a hundred yards east of this tomb, a second, of ruder characters, was visited, and on the back of one of the six loculi which it contained was found a rude bas-relief, representing two busts. In general character it resembled the remains of similar sculpture found at Sûk Wâdy Bîrâda, and in other places, dating about the 4th or 5th century of the Christian era.

Jerâsh.—This ruin, which is one of the finest in Syria, excepting Palmyra and Baalbek, was visited on the 13th of April, and several Greek inscriptions, which do not appear to have been copied by any previous explorer, were found by the Princes, one, especially, being in four lines of great length. Jerâsh is the ancient Gerasa, mentioned by Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 18), and by Josephus ("Wars," III, iii, 3). The buildings appear to belong mainly to one period. They include three temples, two theatres, a stadium, a circus, propylea, and a basilica, baths, a triumphal arch, a fine street of columns, ending in a circular peribolos, a bridge, and a complete circuit of walls with gateways.

Owing to its remote situation this fine ruin is rarely visited. The last Royal personage who appears to have journeyed to Jerâsh was the Crusading King Baldwin II, who attacked a castle here, built by the Sultan of Damascus in 1121 A.D. The Roman ruins are attributed to the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era, but the newly found inscription, with its crosses, seems probably to belong to a somewhat later period, and may serve to throw light on the history of Gerasa.

It is worthy of notice that fine pillars of red granite are found in the ruins of Jerâsh, while granite columns are also used at 'Ammân. The nearest place whence they could have been brought is probably Alexandria, in Egypt, and the transport of such heavy materials to so great a distance proves the wealth and power of the Roman and Byzantine rulers of Eastern Palestine during this period.¹

The newly found inscriptions are given below. Another, almost illegible, was observed near the peribolos. Four other short inscriptions were previously copied by Burckhardt, making nine in all now known at Jerâsh.

No. 1, found on west wall of Southern Temple, on the stylobate near north-west angle :—

ΠΕΡΤΗ
ΑΓ

No. 2, in the southern theatre :—

ΙΙΤΗΕΝΧΘΟΝΙΚΠΟΝΤΩ
ΑΧΟΡΕΙΗCΕΡΚΟΕ
ΕΘΕ . . . Λ ΘΙ
Ο ΘΝΟΕΤΓ

¹ They would be brought with comparative ease in any wheeled vehicle along the fine Roman road which ran direct from Jerâsh to the Jordan, crossed it by bridge above Damieh Ford, and ran direct from there by Nablûs to Cæsarea, where they were unshipped from Alexandria.—J. N. D.

Nos 3 and 4, in a building south of the Great Temple, appear to belong to a single text, which ran along the wall under a cornice. Part of the first line of No. 4 is covered with earth, and in other lines the letters are too much obliterated to read.

No. 3.

ΟΥΘΕΟΙΧΕΟΣΟΥΚΛΕΟΣΕ
 ΨΜΕΤΑΝΟΤΜΟΝΑΕΙΜΕΤΕΧ
 ΙΣΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΣ Ψ ΧΑΡΙΤΓ ...
 ΘΥΡΑΕΝ^ψΛΙΩΤΗCE

No. 4.

ΟΜΟCEΙΜΙΛΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ
 ΙΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ+CΩΜΑΓΑΡΕΝΓΑΗΨΥΧΗΔΕΙCΟΥΡΑΝΟΝΕΥΡΥΝΑCΕΕΛΙΚΕ
 ΙΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΚΑΓΗΡΑΟΝΕΡ ΓΤΕΙΚΑΙΝ ΑΕΤΗCΚΑΙΕCΟΜΕΝΟ
 ΡΤΥΡΙ ΜΔ ΙΩΤΗC ΕΙΝΛΑΚΑΝΗΛ ΘΕΝΤΑΥΠΕ ...

This inscription was copied rather hastily, in a bad light, and some errors may have consequently occurred in the transcription.

The text refers to a certain Theodorus, whose "soul is in heaven," and who was probably the founder of the building where the text occurs.

The remaining inscriptions are as below :—


No. 5, on a broken block in the propylea of the Great Temple; seen also by Burekhardt :—

ΟΝΡΑΤΟ
ΟΥΑΔΡ
ΠΚΑΙΑΥΡ
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣ
ΔΗΜΟ
ΣΤΟΛ
ΤΙΣΤ

No. 6, near the last, also copied by Burekhardt. The large letters in the last line are 5 inches high :—

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ : ΕΡΑ
ΤΟΠΡΟΠΥΛ
ΟΡΝΗΑ

No. 7, on another fallen block near the preceding, written round a central disc :—

Ρ Τ Η Σ Α Υ Γ
Τ Α Ι Λ
Π
Ν
Λ Ι 
Σ Ε Β Α

No. 8, copied by Burekhardt, close to No. 5 :—

ΤΗΡΙΑ
ΔΙΣ

No. 9 is stated by Burekhardt to exist in the Basilica on a broken pedestal between two columns :—

ΡΩΝ ΝΟΥΛΗ
ΓΡΙΟΝΗΣΠΟΝ

There are probably other inscriptions yet uncopied at Jerâsh, and the site demands more careful exploration than it has as yet undergone.

It would seem, from inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4, that part of the

buildings belong to the Christian period, since the Greek cross is used to divide the sentences. From the occurrence of the name *Antonei* on inscription No. 6, it seems that the Great Temple probably belongs to the time of the Antonines, or to the 2nd century A.D. The other pagan buildings of the site are, judging from their architectural style, of the same date.

Shechem.—The Royal party ascended Mount Gerizim on the 16th of April. The buildings on the summit, including the church of Zeno (474 A.D.) and Justinian's fortress (533 A.D.) have been thoroughly explored; but no remains of the Samaritan Temple, built, according to Josephus, by Sanballat ("Antiq.," XI, viii, 7), have been recognised with certainty as yet. According to the Samaritans, it stood close to the Sacred Rock which they still venerate—a large smooth slab of the natural surface of nummulitic limestone, with a dip westwards. On the west, or lower edge, is a sunk cavity, like a cistern, which is traditionally the cave in which the Tabernacle was made. A very interesting note by Mr. Dalton was made on the occasion of the Royal visit, in connection with this site: for on the surface of the rock was observed a cup-shaped hollow, evidently artificial, about a foot in diameter, and 9 inches deep. The Samaritans explained that this hollow marked the spot where the *Hand* (حوض), or Laver of their temple, answering to the Laver in the Court of the Tabernacle, or to that in the Priest's Court of the Jerusalem Temple, had formerly stood. Such cup-shaped hollows are occasionally found in flat rocks in other parts of Palestine, and their use was not understood; but during the recent Survey of Moab, similar hollows have been found in or on flat rocks, close beside the fine dolmens discovered by the Exploration party. There can be little doubt that the hollows were intended to retain libations poured on the stone, and the dolmen stones are often tilted, as though to cause the libation to flow to the hollow, while the rocks in which such hollows occur have, as in the case of the Sacred Rock on Gerizim, a natural inclination. The existence of the cave here, and also beneath the Sacred Rock of Jerusalem, and the hole in the roof of the Hebron Cave, are interesting. In the two former cases, it seems possible that the blood of sacrifices, offered on the sacred rocks, was allowed to run off the surface (through a hole leading to the cave at Jerusalem) into the cistern beneath. The inclination of the sacred Samaritan rock seems to indicate that the worshipper would have faced eastwards, pouring out his libation to the rising sun. It appears probable that El Eilum, the Phœnician sky god, was once worshipped on Gerizim (the Samaritans, indeed, at one time claimed Phœnician origin); and the connection between this worship and the Samaritan belief that Gerizim is the mountain of the land of Moriah (rendered "high land" by the Septuagint version), where Isaac's sacrifice by Abraham was commanded, is suggestive. The exact site of this sacrifice is still shown close to the Sacred Rock. The discovery of the cup-hollow in the rock is of peculiar interest, therefore, in respect to the history of the mountain.

Hajâret en Nasâra.—This spot was visited on the 21st April, on the

way from Nazareth to Tiberias. The name signifies "stones of the Christians," and modern tradition makes this the site of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, which, however, took place, according to the Gospels, on the other side of the Sea of Galilee. A rude circle of basalt blocks, ten paces in diameter, here occupies the edge of a shelf looking down Wady Abu 'Annis, and commanding a view of the lake through the gap, and of the Jaulân mountains beyond. The largest stone is about 5 feet long, and the Russian pilgrims are in the habit of taking home chips of this stone, which they believe to have been used by Christ as a table.

It seems possible that this much venerated circle may be a prehistoric monument, similar to those east of Jordan; and the fine view towards the sunrise seems to countenance this supposition, since stone circles generally occur in Syria in similar positions.

Capernaum.—Antiquaries are at present divided in opinion between two sites towards the north-west end of the Sea of Galilee, which claim to represent the town of Capernaum. These are *Tell Hum*, an important ruin with a synagogue, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the Jordan inlet, and *Minieh*, a less conspicuous ruin, $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles further west, at the north end of the Plain of Gennesaret.

It has been conclusively shown by Sir C. Wilson, and other writers, that Tell Hum has been considered by the Christians, since the 4th century, to be the true site of Capernaum. The ruins of the synagogue belong, however, probably to the 2nd century of the Christian era. A great difficulty also arises in accepting this tradition, because there is no spring at or near Tell Hum, whereas Josephus ("Wars," III, x, 8) gives a particular description of the spring of Capernaum, a "most fertile fountain," watering the country of Gennesaret. The New Testament narrative also connects Capernaum with Gennesaret (cf. Matt. xiv, 34; Mark vi, 53; John vi, 17, 24, 25). The spring of Capernaum contained a peculiar fish, called *Coracinus*, found also in the Nile ("Wars," III, x, 8), and this fish has been identified by Canon Tristram as the *Clarius Macracanthus*, or cat-fish, found in Egypt, and also in the great spring which waters the Plain of Gennesaret, now called 'Ain el Medawerah, "the Round Fountain."

The arguments in favour of the site at Minieh are briefly: 1st, that Jewish tradition *seems* clearly to indicate this spot as the ancient Capernaum; 2nd, that its situation in the Plain of Gennesaret *appears* to agree with the New Testament account; 3rd, that it is sufficiently near the Round Fountain to allow of the latter being named Capernaum, which would seem impossible in the case of Tell Hum, situated, as it is, 5 miles from the Round Fountain.¹

The advocates of the Tell Hum site have endeavoured to meet this last objection by supposing that the fountain called Capernaum by Josephus is to be identified with a group of fine springs found at Tabghah, between Tell Hum and Capernaum (if placed at Minieh). These springs are, it is true, not in the Plain of Gennesaret, from which they are separated by a

The Round Fountain is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles at least from Minieh—rather too far off to be "sufficiently near."—J. N. D.

rocky promontory. They do not contain the *Coracinus*, the water being brackish and unfit for the habitat of this fish, and even if this fountain were the one intended by Josephus, the argument cannot be considered to tell very forcibly in favour of Tell Hum, because Tâbghah lies considerably nearer Minieh ($\frac{3}{4}$ mile) than near Tell Hum (nearly 2 miles off).

Nevertheless, it has been supposed that the water of the principal Tâbghah spring was dammed up, in a masonry reservoir, and conveyed by an aqueduct, partly rock-cut, round the Minieh cliff and into the Gennesaret plain, which it thus irrigated artificially.

It may appear curious that such a labour should have been undertaken, since there are several good springs in the plain itself. The Round Fountain contains a supply of water which might be much more easily used in irrigation. The 'Ain et Tin, close to Minieh, might be dammed up to the required height and used, without entailing the additional labour and expense of nearly a mile of aqueduct, partly cut in hard rock; and a great supply of water might be collected at a high level in the streams of Wâdy 'Amûd, Wâdy Rubudiyeh, and Wâdy Hamâm.

As, however, this controversy is still considered to be unsettled, the occasion of the Royal visit was seized in order most carefully to examine the neighbourhood of Minieh, Tâbghah, and Tell Hum, and especially to collect information concerning the character of the irrigatory works connected with the Tâbghah springs. The results appear to have an important bearing on the question.

The total length of the rock-cut passage, in the cliff near Minieh, is 150 yards, the width is from 4 to 6 feet, and the depth of the channel is in places about 30 feet, but generally not more than 3 to 6 feet on the lower side. The direction and dimensions of the various sections were carefully noted. The channel is not quite level at the bottom, and descends at either end with a slope of about a quarter of a degree from the horizontal. To the east, a paved path continues from the rock-cut portion, and gradually descends to the shore of the lake. There are no remains of any cement on the sides or bed of the channel, such as would be expected in an aqueduct, for the cement often remains almost perfect in water channels older than that at Minieh.

The east end of this channel is more than half-a-mile from the spring. The level, as far as could be judged by observations taken with an Abney's level, seems to be possibly 10 or 20 feet above the top of the reservoir at the Birket 'Aly (the chief fountain at Tâbghah). Between this spring and the passage there are no traces of any aqueduct. It would have to run on a wall, or on piers of masonry of considerable height, and not any indication exists of such a structure. The natural conclusion, which seemed to result from this examination, is that the spring and the rock-cut channel have no connection with one another. It seems far more probable that the passage was intended for a road, in order to avoid the necessity of climbing over the promontory. The cutting of the passage saved an ascent of more than 200 feet, and without it there was no possibility of rounding the cliff which runs into the lake.

The cutting resembles several other rock-cut paths in different parts of Syria, as, for instance, at Râs-en-Nâkûrah, south of Tyre, at 'Ain Fîji, and at Sûk Wâdy Bârada, where the Roman road passes through a passage 17 feet wide, with walls 30 feet high, cut by the 16th Legion in the reign of Antoninus and Verus. The rock-cut aqueducts are generally much narrower, having a cross section of about 2 feet on an average, and traces of cement are almost always found along their course.

If the above conclusion be correct, the channel was never an aqueduct, and the Tâbghah spring can never consequently have irrigated the Plain of Gemesaret by it. An examination of the springs leads, moreover, to the same conclusion. They issue from a limestone rock some 30 to 40 feet above the level of the lake. The spring head is enclosed in a circular tower of masonry, some 15 feet high, whence it was originally conducted to a polygonal pool called Birket 'Aly, built against the face of the cliff, and enclosing another spring. The water tower has, however, been undermined, so that the stream flows through a breach at the base of the wall, and runs below the level of the Birket to a dam, probably more modern, where the water is collected and carried by an aqueduct entirely of modern construction to a modern mill, now working close to the shore of the lake. The water tower walls are built of coarse rubble of basalt in white mortar.

Birket 'Aly is an octagonal reservoir about 100 yards west of the water tower. The walls are built of basalt masonry, the stones being generally of small size, except where the pressure of the water was greatest, and the wall required to be of more solid construction. There is no indication that any part of this wall is older than the rest. A double channel leads from the reservoir to a pair of vertical shafts, which evidently formed shoots for a small mill, now destroyed.

The mortar and plaster of the Birket appear to be modern, and contain pieces of new-looking glazed pottery. The second coat of plaster is pink and full of pottery, as in the plaster now used for cisterns in Syria; the third coat is fine and white.

The original intention which caused the construction of this reservoir was evidently to obtain a head of water for a mill, and there is no reason to suppose that any aqueduct, other than that leading to the mill, ever existed. The name, Birket 'Aly, is said by the natives to be given because this work, with the other constructions at Tâbghah, was made by 'Aly, son of the famous Galilean Arab chief, Dhahr el 'Amr, about a century ago. The descendants of this chief still state that the Tâbghah mills were built by their family, and the work has all the appearance of having been executed by Arabs. There is, therefore, no good foundation for the belief that the Tâbghah springs were dammed up to a level even higher than that of the present reservoir at so remote a period as that of the Christian era.

There are two other mills near the shore, the channels to which are now in ruins, the mills being disused. Some 200 yards east of the water tower above noticed is a second of similar character. It is called 'Ain Eyûb or Tannûr Eyûb, "Spring (or oven) of Job." It is 10 feet in diameter and

15 feet high, with walls about 4 feet thick, and an internal flight of fifteen steps. The water, like that of the other springs, is saline. Similar water towers occur at the 'Ain-el Barideh, near Mejdcl, south of the Plain of Gennesaret. The object of the structure is not very clear, but it was probably a method of obtaining a reserve supply of water. The Tannûr Eyûb is now breached near the base of the wall, and the stream runs free. The place is evidently still sacred, as small offerings (blue beads and strings of shells) are attached to the wall, emblems in ancient mythology of female deities who presided over water.

The results of the exploration were; therefore :—

1st. That there are no indications of any connection between the Tâbghah springs and the rock-cut passage at Minieh.

2nd. That the level of the passage *appears* to be higher than even the top of the reservoir of Birket 'Aly.

3rd. That the passage resembles a road rather than an aqueduct.¹

4th. That the reservoir is modern, and that there are no remains of any ancient similar constructions.

From these considerations it seems safe to conclude that the water of the Tâbghah spring has never been used to irrigate the Plain of Gennesaret, and that the spring is consequently not the fountain of Capernaum mentioned by Josephus.

Bânîās.—The sources of the Jordan were reached by the Royal party on the 25th April, and a very important discovery was made on that day. The great mound at Tell el Kady has long been recognised as the site of the town of Dan, where one of the golden calves is related to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 Kings xij, 29). Josephus mentions a "little temple" in which the golden calf was placed ("Antiq.," VIII, viii, 4). In another passage he mentions this sanctuary as situated near Daphne, at the junction of the great and lesser Jordan ("Wars," IV, i, 1). Daphne is the present ruin of Dufna, close to Tell el Kady, and between the two streams: one, the lesser Jordan, flowing from Bânîās; the other, the greater Jordan, descending from Hermon on the west.

Immediately north-west, nearly a mile distant from Tell el Kady, a low hillock, covered with blocks of hard black basalt, commands an extensive view on all sides. On the south the Hûleh lake and its marshes is backed by the narrow gorge, through which Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. On the east are the volcanic peaks of the Jaulân; on the north-east the snowy Hermon, and the fine castle of Banias, rising high above the groves which surround the foaming Jordan. On the north-west is Abel beth Maachah, and the spurs of Lebanon; and on the west the Galilean ridges, crowned with sacred shrines, which no doubt preserve the memory of ancient places sacred to the Setting Sun. This view is one of the most picturesque in Syria, and the natural sanctuary thus formed, in the centre of the hills close to the great streams, is just such a site as is found, in Moab or in Gilead, to present a field of dolmens and menhirs, which it can

¹ But at Ain-Fijeh precisely similar rock cuttings, made for aqueducts, were afterwards used for roads. I had the privilege of hearing Captain Conder

hardly be doubted were erected as places of sacrifice to a local divinity. Seven such centres were discovered in 1881 by the Survey party in Moab, and the experience thus gained led to the recognition of another centre on the basaltic knoll close to Tell el Kady.

The knoll is known only to the Arabs as "the ruin of the little palm" (Nukheilch), but it has clearly been a dolmen centre, the monuments having been all constructed of hard blocks of black basalt. The great weight of this material causes the monuments to be smaller than most of those found



NO. 1 SKETCH.

east of Jordan. On the south-west side of the knoll, just above the road from Abl to Tell el Kady,¹ two of the dolmens stand close together. The explain at some length, on the spot, the several points he has touched upon in this note, concerning the site of Capernaum, and also of reading on the spot Sir Charles Wilson's paper on the opposite side of the same question, as published in "Recovery of Jerusalem," pp. 375 to 387. I humbly venture to think that the arguments there set out are uncontroverted, and that the cautious conclusion of those clearly written pages will still commend itself to the judgment of most. "It is very desirable that extensive excavations should be made, both at Khan Minyeh and Tell Hum, as, until this is done, it is impossible to say with certainty which is Capernaum. I think, however, in the present state of our knowledge, the evidence is in favour of the latter place, and I would place Capernaum at Tell Hum, . . . and the Galilean Bethsaida (if there were one distinct from Julias) at Khan Minyeh."—J. N. D.

¹ Immediately on crossing the stream without a name that flows mid-way between the Nahr-el-Hâsbâny and the Nahr-el-Latâfâ. (Survey Map of Western Palestine, Sheet II.)—J. N. D.

most western (No. 1 sketch) presents a table stone, 5 feet long, 3 feet broad, supported on three stones, and surrounded with several others. The



No. 2 Sketch.

artificial character of the structure is marked by the small pebbles which have been inserted between the top stone and the supporting stones, so as to make the former steady ; and a hollow is found in the top stone, which, though not so well defined (in consequence of the hardness of the material) as in many of the limestone dolmens, is yet evidently not a natural feature. The top stone is only raised about 2 feet from the ground, but this is often the case in the Moabite examples.

The second dolmen (No. 2 sketch), south-east of the preceding and not far from it, resembles the monuments found in India or in Europe, which have been called semi-dolmens by Mr. James Fergusson. A block of basalt, 5 feet long, is supported on a cubical pillar, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the eastern end of the stone resting on the ground.

On the south-east side of the knoll two other examples, well marked, but of somewhat different structure, were found. One consists of a block (No. 3 sketch) 5 feet long, supported by a stone beneath, so as to form an inclined



NO. 3 SKETCH.

table stone, the highest part of the top surface being 4 feet from the ground. The great weight of the basalt makes the erection of this structure a work which must have required very considerable labour. The stone is surrounded with a rude circle of smaller blocks, and, as in the first specimen, it is kept steady by a small pebble inserted beneath it on one side, a detail which makes yet clearer the artificial nature of the structure.

The fourth example, a little further east, presents a square stone about 4 feet across, supported on three other stones. All four of these monuments are closely similar to examples found in Moab, where they occur in

connection with specimens so large as to allow of a man walking erect, in some instances, under the table stone.



NO. 4 SKETCH.

In addition to these unmistakable examples, there are many other fallen dolmens and single blocks strewn over the hill; in some cases the monuments seem to have been purposely destroyed, especially those most conspicuously placed; and in one instance, as observed by Mr. Dalton, the table stone appeared to have been deliberately shattered into at least three pieces, which evidently at one time formed a single stone. It seems probable that most of the dolmens were surrounded with a circle of small stones, and this arrangement has also been noticed among other groups east of Jordan.

The great interest attaching to this discovery lies in the connection existing between this group of dolmens and the historically sacred centre of Dan, close beside. The investigation of the Moabite dolmens seemed to point to their original use as altars; and modern critics have recognised several allusions in the Old Testament to such monuments erected by the Canaanite tribes, and by the early Israelites. It is possible that, in the specimens now under consideration, we may have the remains of the sanctuary erected by Jeroboam to the calf idol; but if Josephus is to be credited, and if a small temple, not mentioned in the Bible, was erected over the image, it is possible that the dolmens mark a yet older religious centre of the Hittites or Ammorites.¹ In the case of the Bethel

¹ Jeroboam's calf worship must have been mingled with reminiscences, at least, of what he had seen of the bull Men at On, in Egypt, venerated as the earthly representative of Ra the Sun, the daily renewer of life; and the little temple mentioned by Josephus probably stood on the little plateau on the summit of the apparently artificially constructed Tell el Kâdy. Thus in one centre we now see combined the remains of five forms at least of nature worship: the Phœnician, on Mount Hermon; the Canaanite dolmens, at Kh. el-Nukheilch; the Egyptian, at Tell el Kâdy; and the Greek and Roman, at Pancas.—J. N. D.

sanctuary, Jeroboam only reconsecrated an ancient religious centre, and it appears probable that the shrine at Dan had in like manner been a local religious centre long before the time of Jeroboam. The name Hermon is supposed to signify "the Great Sanctuary;" and the mountain was a sacred spot from a very early period, and may be said still to be so considered by the Druzes, whose principal shrines are found on its slopes, while in the 2nd and 3rd centuries temples were erected on all sides of the summit, and on the highest peak itself.

The discovery of dolmens in so interesting a locality has therefore an important bearing on the history of rude stone monuments. In Judea, these structures seem to have been purposely destroyed, and not a single well defined example has been found. In Galilee, on the other hand, where the iconoclasm of the Jerusalem school was less powerful, several good specimens have been found, notably *Hajr ed Dumm*, or "stone of blood," erected on a high point north of the Sea of Galilee. In Moab, some 700 dolmens are now known to exist, and probably many others remain to be discovered. The exploration of the group at Dan is, however, perhaps the most important discovery yet made in connection with rude stone monuments in Syria.

In connection with this subject a few notes may be added as to the remains of calf worship in this district. At an early period, the site of Abel beth Maachah appears to have been much venerated as containing an oracle (2 Sam. xx, 18), and it is remarkable that the great mound south of this town (the modern village of Abl, west of Tell el Kady) is still called Tell el 'Ajjûl ("the hill of the calves"). A flat plateau at the top seems to have been artificially levelled, as though to form a site for a temple or a town. The situation of Abl is such that from the mound the sun would appear, at the summer solstice, rising behind Hermon, while the direction in which it would set at the same season is marked still by the shrine of Neby Aweideh, standing against the sky-line. His name represents the Hebrew *Uz*, and signifies "a substitute."¹

It is generally recognised that the golden calf was a symbol of the sun, and of the young or rising sun more especially. The ritual of the Israelite calf worship appears to have included human sacrifice, according to the correct translation of a passage in Hosea (xiii, 2), "sacrificing men they kiss the calves."

The erection of numerous altars, in connection with these rites, is specially mentioned by Hosea (xii, 11), "their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields."

It is also curious to observe that calf worship may be said to survive to the present day in this district, for the Druzes are well known to preserve a brass image of a calf in their chapels, or *khâlâch*s, on Hermon. It is true

¹ There is another shrine on the same western ridge, "Neby Maheibib," equivalent to that of "the darling," or "the beloved," which may stand for Adonis and the departing sun. From the Tell el Kady platform Subeibek, the Mizpeh under Hermon stands out due east, and Neby Aneideh due west; they are clearly in line with its axis for rising and setting sun.—J. N. D.

that they now treat it with contempt, as an emblem of Derâzi the heretic, whom their great teacher Hamzeh pronounced (by a play on the Arabic words 'Ajez (عجل) and 'Ahl (عقل), both sometimes pronounced by Egyptians—and he was for many years an inhabitant of Cairo—almost indistinguishably, as 'Ahl), to be, not a "wise man" ('Ahl), but a calf ('Ajl). Nevertheless, the Druze religion spread in the 11th century among the Ismaïleh peasantry of Hermon, who preserved many remnants of the old Canaanite religion, and it is possible that Hamzeh at first tolerated the calf idol, just as Muhammed tolerated the stone worship of Mecca: and that the contempt with which the brass image is now regarded is really a later outcome of the development of the Druze philosophy.

'Ain Hashbey.—Very little remains to be added to these notes, as the discovery of dolmens at Baniâs was the culminating point of antiquarian interest in the Royal tour. As, however, every inscription recovered in Palestine is considered of interest, the following is noticed. It was pointed out, on the 4th May, on the arched façade of a vault, whence a fine spring issues on the west side of the great Baalbek plain, north of Zahleh. It appears to be a Latin dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and, in common with the temples of Baalbek, and others in the same plain, it is probably to be attributed to the 2nd century A.D. :—

IONHORAP =DEV RVEVS

The vault is 9 feet in diameter, with nine *voussoirs*, and a round section, the keystone being narrower than the haunch stones, as in most work of the later Roman or early Byzantine period in Syria.

The following note refers to a collection of seals presented to Their Royal Highnesses, during their stay in Damascus, by the Arab Sheikh Mijwel, and entrusted to my care in order to obtain information from competent authorities with regard to their value.

SEALS FROM PALMYRA.

The string of seals includes seven in all, as follows:—

No. 1 is merely a bead, possibly of glass, and without any design.

No. 2 is a small cylinder, such as is commonly found in Assyria. These cylinders were used as seals for signing the clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions, the seal being rolled round in the wet clay. The present specimen is about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. The design represents a nude female figure, holding a crook or crozier, and standing between two figures in long robes: that to the left having the hands raised, as though in prayer, and that to the right exactly corresponding, with its face turned to the central figure. The two outer figures seem to have either feathers on their heads, or else hairy ears, projecting like horns. Behind the right-hand figure are well designed representations of

a lion and a winged griffon, with an S-shaped pattern or coiled snake between them. The griffon is at the top, and the lion below the serpent.

This seal is pronounced by Mr. J. G. Pinches, the well-known Assyrian scholar, to be Assyrian, and to date about 1500 B.C. "It evidently illustrates," he says, "the descent of Ishtar into Hades. To the right is Ninkigal, Queen of Hades; in the middle, Ishtar, deprived of her clothing and ornaments; on the left, a divine attendant, in an attitude of worship."

Ishtar, or Ashtoreth, is the Assyrian moon goddess. A well-known myth, reported on the cuneiform tablets, relates her descent to seek Dumzi, "the son of life," in the infernal regions. This is a Semitic parallel to the seeking of Osiris by Isis, and is founded on the worship of the sun and of the moon, which is alternately separated (when full) from the sun, and joined to him (when new). Mulge, the King of Hell, and his consort Ninkigal, answer to the Greek Aidoneus and Persephone, the Indian Yama and Durga, or the Egyptian Set and Nephthys. The Accadians also believed in four kinds of genii, or demons, who were personified under the form of different beasts; and this idea was adopted by the Assyrians after their conquest of the Accadians. Of these, the *Lamas* resembled a lion, sometimes with a human head, or with wings, while the *Nattig* was like an eagle. These deities resemble the four assessors who accompany Osiris in Hades, according to the Egyptian religion, and who are represented with the heads of animals.

It is possible that the animals represented on the seal under consideration, in connection with the infernal goddess, are intended to represent the two kinds of demons above described. The figure behind Ishtar may perhaps be Mulge himself, the Assyrian Pluto. The crook in the hand of Ishtar resembles the sceptre of Osiris, and also appears in India in connection with Krishna (the Indian Apollo). It is given to the beneficent deities, represented as shepherds guiding their flocks, and is the prototype of the Christian crozier.

No. 3, a red stone, with a design of a lion, is considered to be of Pehlevi origin, and is of no particular interest.

No. 4, a reclining bull, with holes for eyes, possibly once filled with stones, is very similar to the representations found in India of Nanda, the earth bull who supports Mahadeva. It is sometimes of colossal dimensions, and made of brass, generally represented couchant. Nanda also sometimes supports the Linga, in the worship of Siva.

Small representations, like the one in question, have been found in Assyria. Their date is uncertain, and it is not impossible that they may be of Indian origin.

No. 5 is of inferior workmanship, but apparently Assyrian. It represents two figures facing one another in prayer. That to the left bears a quiver, and perhaps represents a king. That to the right has a long beard, and may represent a priest. Above them, in the centre, is a sun or star, and between them a pair of stakes or spears, apparently joined together. A similar pair is shown behind the left-hand figure; possibly

it is intended as a representation of the sacred tree of Asher, which was an important religious emblem (the biblical Asherah, or "grove"). The general design is like many others found on Assyrian bas-reliefs, representing a royal sacrifice.

No. 6 is a cylinder like No. 2, but larger, measuring 1 inch in length by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. The designs are not so well preserved as in the former example.

The design is thus described by Mr. Pinches:—"To the left is the moon god Sin, in the middle the owner of the seal, on the right a divine attendant in an attitude of worship." The date is supposed to be about 1500 B.C. Sin was recognised by the crescent over his head.

Careful inspection seems, however, to show a cross within the crescent, as though the design, when less worn, represented the *litu*, an emblem of the god Marduk, the Assyrian Jupiter.

Close to the central figure, on the right, is a small monkey-like figure seated, and at the top of the seal, above this, is a figure somewhat like a pig. The boar on Assyrian reliefs is used as an emblem of the sun, and the owner of the seal may thus perhaps be supposed to stand between the two great deities of sun and moon.

No. 7, a yellow jasper in the form of an Egyptian scarabæus, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch major diameter, and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch minor diameter. This is the most valuable of the group, and is a well cut and well preserved specimen of a Phœnician seal. The figure and symbolism, as is usual in Phœnician gems, are of Egyptian type, while the inscription of five letters beneath is in Phœnician characters. The figure in Egyptian dress is crowned with the *pechout*, or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The left hand (or the right in an impression) is raised in benediction, the other holds a sceptre with an inverted crescent on a ball at the top. In front of this figure is the Ankh, or Crux Ansata, common to Assyria and Egypt as a symbol of life; behind him is an owl, or a hawk, seated on a sceptre like that in his hand. A star is represented on each side of the head. The same design is rudely repeated at the back the seal, about half size.

The inscription is fairly legible, and when reversed on the seal it appears to read—

𐤀 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕

which in square Hebrew would read לִמְכַד. This, no doubt, is the name of the owner of the seal, the לִ signifying "belonging to." The name מְכַד comes evidently from the root כַּד, whence the word כַּדִּי, Chaldean or Magus.

Dr. S. Birch, of the British Museum, to whom this seal was submitted, gives a description similar to that above, but calls the supposed stars "crucial emblems," and mentions that the sceptre is intended to be of papyrus.

234 REPORT OF THE PRINCES' VISIT TO THE HOLY LAND.

Another Assyrian seal was purchased in Jerusalem by Rev. J. Dalton. It represents a man holding a bull up by the hind leg, and a knife in the other hand. Probably it is an early representation of the Mithraic sacrifice of the bull.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Captain, R.E.*

17th July, 1882.

ITINERARY OF THE ROYAL PARTY.

28th March,	Jaffa to Lydda	....	....	....	11 English miles.
29th	..	viâ Bethhoron to Gibeon (up and			
		down Neby Samnîb)	....	20	.. ..
30th	..	.. Bethel to Ai	....	11	.. ..
31st	..	.. Michmash to Jerusalem	....	13½	.. ..
4th April,	..	Solomon's Pools to Hebron	....	24	.. ..
6th	..	.. Tekoa to Bethlehem	....	19	.. ..
7th	..	.. Herodium to St. Saba	....	15	.. ..
8th	..	.. the Dead Sea to Jericho	....	21	.. ..
10th	..	across Jordan to 'Arak el Emir	....	20	.. ..
11th	..	to Rabbath Ammon	....	18	.. ..
12th	..	.. Es Salt	....	22	.. ..
13th	..	.. Gerasa	....	28	.. ..
14th	..	viâ Râjîb to Jordan	....	25	.. ..
15th	..	to Shechem	....	23	.. ..
17th	..	viâ Samaria and Dothan to Jenin		28	.. ..
18th	..	.. Jezreel to Carmel	....	26	.. ..
19th	..	.. Kishon River to Nazareth	....	13	.. ..
20th	..	to Mount Tabor and back	....	14	.. ..
21st	..	.. Tiberias	....	17	.. ..
22nd	..	.. Minieh by water	....	16	.. ..
24th	..	viâ Safed to Kedes	....	21	.. ..
25th	..	.. Hunin to Banias	....	18	.. ..
26th	..	.. Hibbariyeh to Hasbeiya	....	14	.. ..
27th	..	to Rasheiya	....	11	.. ..
28th	..	viâ Meithalun to Damascus	....	32	.. ..
1st May,	viâ 'Ain Fiji to Zebdâny	....	....	26	.. ..
2nd	..	to Baalbek	....	20	.. ..
3rd	..	.. Yammûneh	....	13	.. ..
4th	..	.. Zahleh	....	20	.. ..
5th	..	.. Khân Sheikh Mahmûd	....	16	.. ..
6th	..	.. Beirut	....	10	.. ..

Total 585½ English miles.

PART OF THE ISTHMUS OF SUEZ



A FEW THOUGHTS UPON THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

ALTHOUGH much has been written upon the Exodus, I venture to offer these remarks simply to tell how I arrived at what appears to be the true explanation of the facts of one of the most remarkable events in the great history of God's providential care of His people.

I have read many of the various suggestions, and have received help notably from the Rev. G. J. Chester's articles in the July 1880 number of the *Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement*, from Dr. Brugsch's "L'Exode," and from Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole's thoughtful papers on "Bible Cities ;" but as I resided on the borders of the land of Goshen for four months, have crossed the Isthmus of Suez ten times in various directions, and have visited some of the most important sites connected with Israel in Egypt, I have had unusual opportunities for observation. Perhaps I enter upon a thankless undertaking when I point out views which exactly tally in every respect with the Bible narrative of the Exodus, though they do not agree with the generally received opinion. There is indeed a vagueness and uncertainty about that opinion, for the route of the Israelites has never been satisfactorily laid down, and some of the most important Hebrew words in connection with it have been translated with a bias incident to preconceived conclusions rather than in strict accordance with the text. This is natural, but when sceptics attempt to cast even ridicule upon the scriptural record, it becomes a duty to look boldly into the facts to see how they bear the most searching criticisms. When once I arrived at what seems to be the true route, it was only what I expected, but it was a great delight to find that the closer the investigation the clearer did the story appear.

The Church has not hitherto accepted any particular route, nor is that necessary, but it is important that there should not be the obstinate adherence to Mohammedan tradition with regard to sites, when the subject has been studied in maps, as insignificant in size as they are incorrect in geography. No wonder that with data entirely contrary to Scripture, and with ideas utterly incompatible with the geographical facts, many have arrived at false conclusions.

To confirm my personal observations, I take the Admiralty charts, Wyld's and Keith Johnstone's best maps, and the French map published at the inauguration of the Suez Canal. I have had Brugsch Bey's map, and the sketch map of the Rev. Greville Chester (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1880) before me, but it will be seen that in the main point I differ from all preconceived ideas ; yet the various circumstances which serve to

¹ "Day of Rest," 1881. See also Mr. Dunbar I. Heath's very interesting paper on "Jannes and Jambres," in *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1881.

prove the extreme accuracy of the Scripture record tend to show that just at a very critical time the exact place of the miraculous deliverance has at last been found.

I was passing through the Suez Canal one day at the beginning of this year with a sceptic whose stumbling block was the miracle at the Red Sea. I explained my views; he saw the truth, and confessed that he never could sufficiently thank me. He begged that I would publish a simple note of the facts as I had explained them to him. I have since had opportunities of mentioning them to one of the most learned Egyptologists and Bible students of the day, and have had the advantage of the kindly criticism of one of the first Hebrew professors, as well as that of one of the most profound Greek scholars, of the age. But I cannot expect that this new sketch of an event so grand and so majestic will be generally accepted until it has been carefully wrought out into a perfect picture that can be looked into closely; but even this sketch, as it is, may interest many more than those who have persuaded me to let it be published.

I take the "field of Zoan" as the place where the great wonders were set forth before Pharaoh (Psalm lxxviii, 13, v), until he would let the people of Israel go. *There* is the Zan of to-day, the great city of Rameses II, the place where splendid monuments are still to be seen scattered and shattered on the hill side, but with inscriptions as sharp cut as if finished yesterday—Zoan, "the place of departure," is represented now by an insignificant village on the Tanic branch of the Nile. There are no mounds in all Goshen¹ equal to the hills of Zoan. From the top of these hills all the land of Goshen can be seen. When the bond slaves were free to go forth, from all the plain they would be pressing towards the point where the roads centered upon the one which led to the Promised Land. All the Hebrews had been well warned (Exodus xii, 4, 6), and would be ready to move on the very day when the first Passover feast was done. That very night they were thrust out by the Egyptians. Their rendezvous was the wilderness, and their goal was the Promised Land. "Three days' journey" would take them to the "wilderness." This was all that Moses had first asked for, that they might worship. The exact place in the wilderness is defined. The road across the desert was before them, "but God led them not that way." "By strength of hand the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt, and it came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not the way of the land of the Philistines, *although that was near*, for God said, lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the יַם־סוּף (*Yam Suf*) 'Sea of Reeds,'² and the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt."²

God caused them to turn and not go by the direct route, lest they might have been harassed by the Egyptians all the way, and might have

¹ Goshen, "the land of shepherds."

² Ex. xiii, 17.

given up their flight in despair. They were to go in a direction where they would, by the power of God, be delivered, and the whole army of the pursuers be destroyed. The Egyptians, *not the Philistines*, were the enemies they had then to fear.

I might here refer to other authorities, but as Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, one of the best of all, accepts Zoan as the starting point, and appears to be quite clear that the way by the western side of the Red Sea, south of Suez, was not the route taken,¹ I will now try to define the exact course. I quite acknowledge that we may well say: "Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path is in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known,"² yet as it is not God's footsteps, but those of His people we are attempting to trace, the effort to arrive at the truth is not presumptuous when we take the Holy Scriptures as our guide.

The Israelites under Moses set out from Rameses³ the royal city, which is identified with Zoan. Their first camping place was Succoth (*booths*);⁴ in that district the people dwell in booths at the present day; the next, Etham, identified by the Khetham of the Egyptian papyri, translated by Brugsch Bey. The Royal Palace at Rameses, the halting place in Succoth, and the border "fortress" Etham, are all mentioned in extant documents, one day's journey intervening, and at Etham the way to Syria is in front. Here "the Lord spake unto Moses saying, speak unto the children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal Zephon" (Exodus xiv, 2). This Migdol is mentioned in the Roman itinerarium. Baal Zephon is the "*northern Baal*," so is to be sought for on the *north* coast of Egypt. Pi-hahiroth is "*the place of Gulls*," or quicksands, therefore close to the sea.

I visited Zoan by way of the Yam Suf:⁵ I passed through Succoth, and afterwards, by the Suez Canal *via* Kantara, went to the place where Etham on the borders of the wilderness ought to be found. There were ruins of a large city: some Arabs with a herd of young camels were resting near. I copied the frieze of part of a completely ruined temple, on which was the cartouche or shield with the name of Rameses II rather rudely cut in red granite. I inquired of the different Arabs who went with me "Where is Migdol?" They all agreed in the direction, and pointed towards the sea, and said it was distant about half a day's journey. This only confirmed what others have mentioned. In the French map of the Suez Canal it is called "the Migdol of the Bible."

Many a time had I gazed over the desert between Migdol and the sea, and watched the mirage lift up the land into little islands on the horizon. It was difficult to tell where the land ended and the sea began. On the verge of the great sea there is a *long narrow bank of sand*, stretching for many miles along the coast westward, and always dry excepting at one point.

¹ Lecture at Kensington, 1882. See also *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1881, page 107. By Rev. G. J. Chester.

² Psalm lxxvii, 19.

³ Numbers xxxiii, 4.

⁴ Here they may have cut the reeds for shelter.

⁵ ים-סוף

where, in strong westerly gales the sea washes through. This bank of land could readily hold the whole host of fugitives. Within this bank was a great inland sea. On the eastern shore the Israelites would, as directed, encamp. Then came the alarm that the Egyptians had followed them to cut off their retreat, and thus "entangled in the land," for "the wilderness shut them in," Moses and his followers were caught in a trap. "And when Pharaoh drew nigh the children of Israel lifted up their eyes and behold the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid, and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord."¹

The map herewith explains the probable position of the Hebrew camp. The Scripture narrative explains the rest. There is the terror in the evening, the strong east wind, the sea going back, the night made dark to the pursuers, and light to the pursued. There is the midnight march through the midst of the sea, the disastrous pursuit in the early morning. The dry land, with the sea as a defence on the right hand and on the left, safely reached by the Israelites, and then the great catastrophe to the Egyptians. All this happened near the sea, the great sea, and yet it was in the Yam Suph, which is translated Red Sea, that the miraculous deliverance took place. Exodus xv, 4; Joshua ii, 10; Psalm cvi, 9—all "Sea of Reeds" in the Hebrew.

The Suez Canal has cut off the east end of the Yam Suph, and has cut through the bank of sand. The Arabs tell of the remains of buildings on the east shore of the sea near to where Pi-hahiroth was. Cities have been built there, and have become ruins;² other armies in the pride of conquest have been overwhelmed at this very place.

There have been many changes, no doubt, within the last 3,196 years;³ but still at this same sea, even west of the canal, when there is a "strong east wind," the sea goes back, so rapidly, indeed, that shoals of fish are left dead on the shore, the sea is changed into dry land, and the waves flow back, and a way is opened through the midst of the sea, a practicable roadway for a host. "The Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry, and the waters were divided." The Hebrew word⁴ here used for divided is the same verb as that employed in reference to two other memorable miracles connected with water, namely, when all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened at the time of the flood,⁵ and when mention is made in the Psalms⁶ of the water flowing from the rock. Bearing this in mind we can understand how this sea was put under the power of Moses's rod, for the very same word is used by Isaiah⁷ when he mentions the same miraculous interposition of Providence at this

¹ Exodus xiv, 10.

² Pelusium, Sin; both names mean "mud," and may refer to one city.

³ Taking the Exodus at 1314 B.C.

⁴ בקע

⁵ Gen. vii, 11. נבקעו

⁶ Psalm lxxiv, 15. וּבָקַע

Isaiah lxiii, 12.

very crisis. The Lord's words to Moses were, "Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea and divide it, and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea."

On the spot one can quite imagine the scene, and the joyful surprise of the despairing fugitives when they saw the waters flow back and the bed of the sea quickly become dry ; then they took courage. "And the children of Israel went *into*¹ the midst of the sea upon the dry ground." The sea would, we may suppose, go back so far as to secure the safety of all the fugitives, and enable them to march through the midst of the sea, and deploy upon that long bank of sand. The rearward would see those in front bend towards the west, and in a long long line be marching between the seas, with the great blue horizon of the Mediterranean filling up the distance. For just when the first of the fugitives had passed through the midst of the sea at this place to which we have traced them, they would find—and this is very remarkable—that they had arrived at a very sanctuary, where the sea became a wall of defence to them on the right hand and on the left. So God protected them from their enemies. "Judah was His sanctuary, and Israel His dominion. *The sea saw—and fled!*" Thus the Psalmist *exactly* describes what I have endeavoured to explain, and this Psalm (the cxiv) was used by the Jews in their service of the feast of the Passover, and is a proper Psalm appointed by our Church for Easter Day!

The Israelites had passed from before Pi-hahiroth, the sea had fled before them, they had walked on dry land in the midst of the sea ; the sea became a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left ; every circumstance tends to confirm the probable identification. We can see how the chariot wheels broke, and how they drave heavily. We can see how the one sea was driven back, and how the great sea broke through, and how the earth swallowed them up.

I have walked in the midst of the sea near this very Pi-hahiroth, "the place of abysses." When the sea was gone, the ground was so dry it scarcely took the impression of a camel's foot ; I pressed the ferrule end of a walking stick into the ground, suddenly, after going in a few inches, the stick was swallowed up nearly to the hilt. This shows the character of the ground to be exactly such as we find in the sacred record, for when the Egyptians deliberately followed the Israelites into the midst of the sea, "even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, his horsemen. And it came to pass that in the morning watch the Lord looked into the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels that they drave them heavily ; so the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians." The miracle of destruction begins, the waters return to their place in their strength. "Thou didst blow with Thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters." Thus does Moses in his song describe the

¹ The word *into* should be rendered through, as \square is not used of motive either to or in a place, it is used of the means or instrument. See Exodus xiv, 16, quoted above, where \square is translated "through."

catastrophe ; and in the 12th verse he adds : "The earth swallowed them ;" so the locality is very closely defined, and Pi-hahiroth is indeed the place of gulfs ! Joshua (xxiv, 6, 7) very distinctly recognises the position and the action of the two seas—the Mediterranean and the Yam Suph. "I brought your fathers out of Egypt, and ye came unto *the* sea ; the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen unto the Red Sea (Yam Suph). And when they cried unto the Lord, He put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought *the sea* upon them, and covered them." It is precisely at this place the Mediterranean breaks through.

Moses and his people were safe on the dry ground, the sea was a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left ; they could see the utter overthrow of their enemies ; they could see how the wind not only carried back the waters over the midst of the sea, but how the foaming billows stood upright as a heap. It is grand to see the great waves from this place of refuge, the narrow bank, where the sea is a defence upon the right hand and upon the left, when there is a strong gale from the west, the surf runs very high, and threatens to overwhelm the long strip of land where the Israelites found themselves so secure. The great sea itself was a new wonder to these bond slaves, who had been accustomed to look out through a forest of reeds upon the placid sea which borders the plain of Zoan. The very reeds make a natural breakwater, so that there can be no surf upon the southern shore of Lake Menzaleh. Their first impression of the mighty waves that appeared to threaten them, but were kept within bounds and spent their strength upon the open beach of "the great Sea" must have astonished the Israelites as much as when the sea went back and became a way for the ransomed to pass over !

Excepting on Chesil Beach, and on the south coast of Ceylon, I never saw such a glorious surf. Indeed, at one point, and that just about where the Army of Pharaoh would feel its effects most terribly, when there is a west wind the sea breaks through, and adds its force to flood the very land which the east wind made dry.¹

But what is still more remarkable, this region of these miracles has become, in these modern days, under the overruling providence of the Most High, the very spot where people from all nations are being led. From the west side of the outer bank of the Suez Canal, where it passes through the Yam Suph, that sea can be *seen going back* when there is a strong east wind ! Is it at the scene of the miraculous deliverance that a great central port is being formed, with every probability of its becoming the chief port for the Holy Land ? Is this to be the very place to which the scattered people of God will come when the time of ingathering arrives ? They are already coming in increasing numbers each succeeding year. *Will the place of the Exodus be the open gate of the return ?*²

¹ The place where the sea breaks through is marked on the Admiralty chart of Port Said.

² See Jeremiah xxiii, 7, 8, where the great miracle of the return is made to eclipse entirely the miracle of the Exodus.

What is to be the future of Port Said and the Canal? Were it not that I saw the beginning of this now wonder, the opening up of this way for all nations to pass through, this centre for all, and especially for God's people who are scattered abroad, I would not have dared to scrutinise so closely this story of the Exodus; but when I thought I saw signs of a great miracle that has only now begun, I was led to look out for any signs there of God's doings in the past, and I think that it is not only possible but probable that the one event points inevitably to the other: for He "who knoweth our thoughts long before, has made His plans from the beginning." This new view of the scene of the Exodus takes nothing away from its miraculous character as a providential interposition prepared and carried out, and as every detail tallies with the Scripture record as to when, where, and how, it seems to me to become even more extraordinary that before this elucidation of that which has been hid for more than thirty centuries, the greatest highway for all nations had been made, the preparations for the still greater miracle of the incoming had been actually going on at the very place where Moses sang his prophetic hymn, which is one of the songs of heaven, "Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever!" (Ex. xv, 17, 18).

I believe that those maps which confine their information to geographical facts will best help in clearing up the difficulties that have perplexed for centuries the searching after truth. Much may yet be discovered by painstaking explorers, for Lower Egypt is fallow ground in the great field of research. Even where we follow up the Exodus from the place where everything serves to prove that the miraculous deliverance happened, we at once come upon the names of deserts, not of towns. There is first the wilderness of Shur, close to Pi-hahiroth (*compare* Numbers xxxiii, with Exodus xv, 22). Shur means "wall." In Wyld's map the site of this wall is given. At the time of the Exodus it had already been built nearly 150 years, and as no trace of it is visible on the surface, it was probably built only of crude bricks, or of mounds of sand, as a breastwork defence against the Shepherd Kings, perhaps the Pharaohs of Joseph's day, who were driven out before Moses's time. The oppressors of the Israelites knew not Joseph. Ramesses the Great had become a mighty conqueror; he had his chariots and horsemen, his fortresses and towers (his Ethams and Migdols). The wall would soon become useless as a defence, for the sands in the desert of Shur are constantly on the move. However, from that desert the Israelites went onward to the wilderness of Etham (Numbers xxxiii, 8), so that they went back by the same way they had come, after they turned as God commanded, so as not to go by "the way of the land of the Philistines." Their enemies were destroyed, they had seen them dead on the sea-shore. When the Israelites returned, the signs of deliverance were seen in the tokens of God's victory, on the very verge of the field of battle, where the natural forces were His weapons of destruction.

Some had perished in the quicksands where God had led them, some had been overwhelmed by the sea which God had brought over them.

God guided and God protected; the Israelite host kept straight on instead of turning now into the "way of the land of the Philistines." They would probably get water at Etham from canals of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, if that existed then. But in the wilderness of Etham they marched three days without meeting with water; then they would arrive at Marah, or the present site of the Bitter Lakes. Much of deep interest might be said of this region; but first there are some points in the Bible narrative more important to be noted with special reference to the name—Red Sea.

We are all familiar with the terms "Sea of Galilee" and "Dead Sea;" we read even of the brazen sea within the Temple Court, and the crystal sea in heaven, so we can understand the bias of the Hebrew mind in respect to the distinguishing, by special designations, the seas they wished to define. The first mention of the sea where the miracle of the Exodus took place occurs in Exodus x, 19, where we read that the locusts that had plagued the Egyptians were blown by a west wind: "a west wind" blew them into what the Hebrews called the Yam Suph. A north wind would be needed to blow them forty or fifty miles over the desert to reach the Red Sea at Suez. Yam means sea. "Suph" is exactly the same word that we find in the Book of Exodus to describe the reeds or flags amongst which the infant Moses was found. The Israelites on the plain of Zoan could see the locusts fall into the Yam Suph, or sea of reeds. Suph is used in the margin of the English version in the first verse of Deuteronomy, where mention is made of the plain near Jordan; in the Hebrew the word "Suph" alone is used, and some well known bed of reeds is probably meant, but our translators, being ignorant of the locality, add the word "sea," and make the Red Sea there! The Germans, however, always translate Yam Suph as Schilf Meer, or "sea of reeds." The Greek of the Septuagint does not thus translate Yam Suph, but *makes* it, as our authorised version does, *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα* or Red Sea. Hence many misunderstandings; but we must not try to clear these up by accepting comparatively modern designations; we must look at things as they were.¹ The Greeks knew the beauty of the Mediterranean blue, and when they first came to sail on the Yam Suph (Sea of Reeds), they need

¹ Geography was little known even at the time when the Septuagint was written, and it is possible that the local name of Yam Suph was forgotten. The Jews, who translated the Hebrew into Greek, had to accept the Grecian name of the sea, which had already a Greek designation. No local tradition had satisfactorily defined the place of the miracle which was wrought more than 1,000 years before the Septuagint was written. The translators may have accepted the modern Red Sea as the scene, to make the wonder appear the more gigantic, but the real miracle is the way in which God guided His people *in the right way to the very place* where they would be safe, and where their enemies would be destroyed, and there He ruled the winds and the seas according to His will.

not accept the name by which the Hebrews had called it—these had gone centuries before the Greeks came—nor need they adopt the name the Egyptians gave it, which had the same signification as that of the Hebrews (the Coptic Bible has the same); but by whatever channel the Greeks entered Egypt, and especially if they entered through the strip of sand into this inland sea, they would find their galleys floating on a coloured sea, *red*, with sand of a reddish colour, and more and more red at the time of the inundations of the Nile. (Sharpe in his History of Egypt says “the Nile reaches the Delta red with Ethiopian soil.”) The inner border next to Goshen is lined with reeds, so that at the present day the entrance to the Tanic branch, which leads to Zoan, is invisible from the Yam Suph; but, thanks to floating buoys of reeds, the channel can be traced and the river entered. On my way to Zoan I crossed this sea with a glorious breeze; it is quite a sea, for from its centre its own horizon bounds it, but the broken edges of mirage-like islands tell that land is near. Its waters are salt; the hundreds of beautiful lateen sails that are its only ornament show what a busy place it might be, were there myriads of slaves to keep up the embankments that in Egypt’s golden days held back this salt water from the land of Zoan when the Nile mingled its flood with the lagoon of this Sea of Reeds. That long narrow strip of dry ground before mentioned prevented the ready exit of the water of the Nile into the Mediterranean, and still prevents it; so when the inundations come, part of the once fertile field of Zoan becomes a brackish marsh, for the waters of the sea and river intermingle and flood the plain. The exits to the sea are few and shallow.

There is yet another way to account for the Yam Suph being called the Red Sea. Although Herodotus and others mention the Red Sea, and carry the same name to the Persian Gulf, and even confound it with the Indian Ocean, we can trace the Grecian title into earlier times, and perhaps it was not from the colour of the water but from the name of the kingdom of a mythological king, the “Erythrian Sea” received its Grecian name. The story goes that the parents of Andromeda ruled in Ethiopia and claimed for their daughter a purer type of beauty than even that of the loveliest nymphs of the sea. Neptune was petitioned to punish such presumption; he sent a terrible flood over the land (the inundation of the Nile perhaps), and this could only be assuaged by the sacrifice of Andromeda; but Perseus, returning from his victory over Medusa, recovered the Ethiopian princess, and she became his bride. Erythras, the son born of this union, became the sovereign of the kingdom, and the sea upon the coast was known thereafter as the *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα*. When the mythological story was forgotten, the sea bordering upon Egypt kept the same name, and more modern translators called it the “Red Sea;” but as the limits of the kingdom of Erythras were never known, we can see how the name eventually was given to all the seas beyond even the limits of Cleopatra’s power. But, after all, the mythical king might have received his name from the veritable sea, just as the Yam Suph may have got its Grecian name from its veritable colour.

In the direct narrative of the Exodus the one word sea (ים) is generally used. But when the plan of the route is given for the Israelites to take—they were not to go by “the way of the land of the Philistines,” although that was near—we are told that God led the people about, made them to turn towards the wilderness of the Yam Suph, which we choose to translate as the Red Sea. Moses in his song uses the same words, as well as the single word for sea. To the Hebrews *the sea* is always the Mediterranean, just as to Job, who dwelt in Arabia, we may suppose the sea he so frequently refers to was the modern Red Sea; it was the great sea to him, therefore one that needed no special local designation. But this special designation was needed for Moses at Migdol, because the Mediterranean was in front, the Sea of Sarbonis to the east, the Yam Suph, or Sea of Reeds, to the west, and by *that* he was to move to the encampment to which God had commanded him to go. I look at the Old Testament and I find places where Yam Suph is translated Red Sea, some undoubtedly referring to the place of the miracle of the Exodus. In the New Testament there are only two places where the Red Sea is named: those of course are found in the Greek, but that Greek is in both places the natural translation of the Septuagint words, for Yam Suph had come to be accepted as ἐρυθρά θάλασσα, wherever that might be. The word was unintelligible to the Greeks, but intelligible to the Hebrews, and in accordance with the Hebrew text, was probably, in both instances in the New Testament, first used *in Hebrew*; for in one case St. Stephen was speaking in Hebrew to the Jews, and in another case the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was trying to convince his countrymen of the truths of Christianity and the power of faith. There are doubts about whether the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew, although Clement of Alexandria says it was;¹ but there can be no doubt of this, that when we offer to the Jews the New Testament in Hebrew, we tell them that the miracle took place at this same Yam Suph! In the Hebrew translation of the New Testament we do not translate the English or the Greek words: we go back to the ancient Hebrew, so that there may be no mistake, and adopt the words that Moses used, which are ים-סוף (Yam Suph).

But there are places in the Holy Scriptures which doubtless refer to the modern Red Sea, or rather to the Gulf of Akaba, for in most cases that seems to be the point referred to when the modern Red Sea is mentioned.² Here we must go back to the Hebrew, and also to the Greek text. The latter is a guide to the former, for in one place (Judges xi, 16) we find Ζιφ θάλασσης, and in another (1 Kings ix, 26) ἐσχάτης θαλάσσης, the localities being identical; the first is an attempt, perhaps,

¹ See Wordsworth's introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

² Elim, the encampment after Marah, has not been accurately defined. It seems to be probable that Elim (Numb. xxxiii, 9, and Ex. xv, 27), Elath (Deut. ii, 8), and Eloth (1 Kings ix, 26), are identical. The meaning is the same in Hebrew, high trees.

to distinguish one sea from the other, the יַם־סוּף (Yam Soph), from the יַם־סוּף (Yam Suph), while the second is a translation of the first, namely, "the end or head of the sea," near Eziongaber.

I can only state these facts to show that the view I take of the Exodus while fully coinciding with the Scripture narrative, almost forces us to accept the simple truth without having to be troubled with inconclusive conjectures as to localities; for these must continue to be inconclusive when they do not tally with the truth and have no satisfactory foundation. I have read the facts written, as it were, before me indelibly upon the very ground, though they were originally written on water and on sand, yet they cannot be blotted out if true. I have not been looking at a mirage, for I have had firm hold of the Bible, and have been looking at that which is most real and true. My view has not been confined to the history that is past, I am watching what is passing now, and I am waiting for the fulfilment of events that have been foretold in Scripture relative to God's loving care for His people. Our faith in the future is strengthened the more clearly we can see the Lord's goodness in events that have passed by. It was by that very "way of the land of the Philistines" where the Israelites were forbidden to travel, that our Saviour probably was carried, in the helplessness of infancy, into Egypt, and although tradition may fix the place of sojourn far away in the interior, beyond the land of Goshen, would He not find a ready shelter on the frontier, not far from the very place where Moses, as an infant, was rescued from the waters which flowed into the sea wherein the enemies of God's people were overwhelmed, and where that first great victory was won?

Whatever may have happened in that region may yet be excelled by signs more wonderful, and by events which will still more add to God's glory. There will be no doubt then as to the place; it is identified in prophecy of the last days: it is there called "the tongue of the Egyptian sea," a name which may still be a mystery, but the mystery will be revealed "when men go over dryshod, and when the Lord shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."¹

How quickly they are now learning the way, we can see at Port Said, and when the time of wandering is over the journey to the Land of Promise will be short, for the way thither, "by the way of the land of the Philistines," is nigh!

"I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way," is the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxi, 9); this may prove to mean the straight canal going through the streams of the Delta, not far from the southern border of the Holy Land, as defined by Joshua (xv, 4, 47): supposed by some ancient translators (says Gesenius) to denote El Arish, the boundary between Syria and Egypt (*vide* the Hebrew text).

This sketch may be filled up more perfectly by those who have time and opportunity for research in different versions of the Bible. I only

¹ Isaiah xi.

venture to put it forward as pointing, perhaps, to the right direction for further research, and exploration on land.

Political events of great importance attract much attention to these regions, but this paper is meant rather for thoughtful students than for the casual glance of those who are merely interested in the events of the day. It is sent as a contribution to the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, as it attempts to clear the way for other and perhaps more interesting discoveries that may throw light upon events in Bible History, and serve to prove the accuracy of the narrative, especially at the very points where, from want of knowledge or from want of faith, some have been led to doubt.

Holy Trinity Vicarage,
Milton-next-Gravesend,
September, 1882.

JOHN SCARTH.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

GEOGRAPHY.

Mr. GLAISHER presented the report of the Committee, consisting of himself, the Rev. Canon Tristram, and the Rev. F. Lawrence, appointed for the purpose of promoting the Survey of Eastern Palestine. It was as follows :—

We have to report, as regards the Survey of Eastern Palestine, that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund were able, in the spring of last year, to organize and equip an expedition for the execution of this important work. They were able to secure the services of Captain Conder, R.E., formerly in charge of the Survey of Western Palestine, and they were granted by the War Office the services of Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., a young officer who had recently left Chatham. They were also able to re-engage Messrs. Black and Armstrong, now pensioners of the Royal Engineers. The party left England on March 16th, 1881, arriving at Beyrout early in April. Their instructions were, on receiving the instruments, which were not quite ready when they left England, to begin the Survey in the north, and to make as much use of the friendly Druzes as possible. Unfortunately, a revolt of these people made work in the Hauran impossible, and it was finally decided by Captain Conder to commence in the south, where it appeared probable that operations could be conducted with safety. Accordingly, he led his party across the Jordan, and commenced and carried on the Survey for some months. Unfortunately, it had been discovered by the Turkish authorities that the Firman with which our party worked was one issued by a former Sultan, and that it did not convey the

power of working east of the Jordan. Peremptory orders were received from Constantinople that the work was to be stopped immediately. But by this time 500 square miles of the Survey had been accomplished. Efforts were made by the Foreign Office, by Lord Dufferin, and by Captain Conder himself, to obtain a new Firman. The matter is so far advanced that a Firman has been promised ; but it is not yet signed. Captain Conder kept his party in winter quarters at Jerusalem, where they were employed in laying down the works and calculating the observations and making fair drawings of the plans. In the April of the year Their Royal Highnesses Princes Edward and George of Wales reached Palestine, and Captain Conder was commanded to attend them on their tour, which lasted six weeks. In the course of the journey the Mosque of Hebron was visited, and an accurate plan taken by Captain Conder. The party also spent a week on the eastern side of the Jordan. Captain Conder retired from the country on May 22nd of this year. Before leaving Palestine he received notice from his Excellency the British Ambassador that the new Firman had been finally approved by the Minister of Public Instruction, and submitted by him to the Porte for confirmation. He has brought home with him the finished map, on the scale of one inch to the mile, of 500 square miles, together with many new photographs taken by Lieutenant Mantell, and volumes of notes, special plans, drawings, etc. He is now occupied in working up for publication the notes and information collected by him. This will occupy him about five months. The results of this campaign have been, among other things, the discovery of a vast number of cromlechs and rude stone monuments. Many of them had been discovered previously by Canon Tristram, but Captain Conder has established the fact that this part of Moab was a great centre of the form of religious worship of which these monuments are the remains. He suggests that among them are the altars of Balak. He has proposed identifications for Baal Peor, the field of Zophim, the Ascent of Luhith, Jazer, Sibmah, and Minnith—six biblical places previously unknown ; he has collected a great quantity of Arab folk-lore, with tribe marks and traditions ; he has found a most remarkable building of Persian character at Ammân ; and he has made a collection of sketches and plans of the greatest value. In fact, the work done on the east of the Jordan will be found to be in every way equal to that done in the west and already published ; he has also made numerous geological observations. But besides the Survey, Captain Conder found time to do a great deal of work on this side of the river. He discovered Kadesh, the ancient capital of the Hittites ; he has measured and planned the Siloan Tunnel, and made a copy of the inscription ; and he has discovered and planned what he suggests may be nothing less than the real Holy Sepulchre. It is hoped that the party may again, before long, take the field, without fear of obstruction or opposition, in a work which has no political significance, but is of extraordinary interest to all who are interested in the lands and people of the Bible.

Mr. CYRIL GRAHAM said : I am glad of this occasion, when a great number of those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge in its widest sense,

are come together, to urge, as I have repeatedly urged at various other times, not only upon those whom I see around me, but upon the outside world—by which expression I wish to designate the great mass of our clergy of all denominations, scattered throughout Great Britain, and a vast number of the laity, who, though not able to attend our meetings, take a lively interest in our proceedings, and would take a still livelier interest were they subscribers to it—the great claims of our Fund upon all those who thirst for a more and more minute knowledge of the countries, places, and scenes referred to in the Scriptures.

For the moderate sum of one pound per annum, the contributor obtains four numbers, published quarterly, embodying an official account of the most recent explorations made in the Holy Land, and affording food for all kinds of minds. A glance at one of our little volumes will show that while one who is versed in the science of oriental literature, languages, and research, may well have his attention taxed, the next page may contain the description of a site or of a building, comprehensible and deeply interesting to the millions who, with a less technical training, read the Old and New Testaments.

Now in spite of all that has been done, from the commencement of our operations in 1865 until the present date—and I wish to call your attention to the fact, that within this comparatively short period of time we have not only verified many sites and excavated them, made several series of photographs, and in the face of great difficulties completed a Survey of Palestine to the west of Jordan, the results of which appear in the maps which are now at your disposal, the whole of this great work, be it remembered, having been carried out by the Royal Engineers, and at our expense—we have a still harder task before us.

In the beginning we had a slight financial assistance from the Government; but, as far as I am aware, this has long since ceased, except perhaps in the form of the loan of a man-of-war who might be cruising off the coast of Syria, and be willing under orders to carry home certain objects of inestimable archaeological value, which, from time to time, have been presented to the British Museum. A list of the officers and men who have worked for us deserves special recognition. All of them, without exception, regardless of climate, and the many dangers to which explorers are otherwise subjected in the East, exposed themselves until either sickness compelled them to leave Syria, or the command of duty to leave us for other work. Our honoured President (Mr. Glaisher) has told you of the difficulties we have recently encountered with regard to the Imperial Ottoman Firman, the purport of which was to give us leave to do what we liked in the matter of excavations to the east of Jordan. I will not enter into this subject just now, as we are at the present moment bankrupt, if I may use the expression, in officers. The other day we had four ready, with their men, to take our field at an hour's notice; yet so valuable were they, so distinguished were they in their own service, that at a minute's notice they were taken from us and impounded by Sir Garnet Wolseley. All these delays and unavoidable accidents—for I neither grudge my friend Sir

Garnet Wolseley the assistance of such men, nor the gallant officers their great opportunity of winning new honours in their noble profession; besides which I have complete confidence that the Egyptian affair will not occupy many weeks, and that they may then be restored to us—have paralyzed our resources, and I can only entreat those who are hearty in our work to come to the front and support us. We want to do for the eastern side of Jordan what we have done for the western. As it is, we have “probed” the eastern side, but we have a far larger area of research before us there, and the exploration of those regions will be attended with very much greater expense, danger, difficulties, and probable hindrances than any of the like kind which we have hitherto encountered.

Mr. T. SAUNDERS, of the India Office, enlarged upon the additions which had been made by these explorations to biblical and other knowledge, and mentioned many interesting points which might still be cleared up if the means were supplied.

Mr. R. C. JOHNSON gave an instance to show the importance of an early completion of the Survey on the eastern side of the Jordan. In 1872 he had visited, in the company of Canon Tristram, the well-preserved ruin of the façade of a palace built by the Sassanian monarch, Chosroes the Second, at Mashita, 30 miles north-east of the Dead Sea, but regretted to inform the meeting that at a visit paid to these parts by Canon Tristram last winter, he had found that during this interval the façade had been very materially injured by the Arabs.

Sir E. OMMANNEY moved the reappointment of the committee, which was agreed to, and some of the members handed donations to Mr. Glaisher for the prosecution of the work.

ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN CONDER.¹

THE Western Survey required a very large amount of work in England, and I was engaged by the Society for several years in preparing it for publication. When its preparation was considerably advanced, it was proposed that a survey of the country on the east side of the Jordan, including Moab and Gilead, and the country up to as far as Damascus, should be undertaken on the same scale, with the same accuracy, and with the same objects as those for which the Western Survey was undertaken. Those objects are not merely the production of a

¹ This address was given at a meeting held at the town residence of Mrs. Greer, Regent's Park.

map, which might perhaps be considered to be rather a dry matter, but the map was undertaken in order to ensure that every square mile of the country should be gone over, and that no ancient monuments of any kind that might throw light on the study of the Bible might by any accident be left behind in the course of taking the ordinary travelling routes through the country. It was felt that if the surveyors were obliged to go down into every valley and up every hill they would hardly fail to see whatever there was of archaeological interest in the country.

The Society sent us out in March of last year; we reached Syria, and having some little time to wait before our stores and instruments arrived, Lieutenant Mantell and myself made a journey into northern Syria, with a view of exploring the site of one of the great Hittite cities, and I have every reason to believe our explorations were very satisfactory. I purpose to say something more about that later on.

When we got back from this preliminary exploration and arrived at Beyrout, we ascertained from the local authorities, who were extremely kind to us, and had special orders to do all they could to help us, that the Governor of Syria had informed them that no operations in the way of explorations of any kind were to be allowed to English or other officers, or any European, without express orders from Constantinople. They had received very stringent orders to that effect, and the Lieutenant-Governor stated he not only could not give us any assistance, but should be obliged to prevent our working. With regard to that I may say it occurred more than fifteen months ago, and we have been working ever since. I will say a few words as to how we managed to do it. In the first instance we found that the Druzes, who inhabit the land there, were all in rebellion against the Turks, and a cordon of Turkish soldiers had been drawn round the district, making it impossible to enter it, although, of course, it was one we resolved to enter. Of course the further you get from the centre of Government, the less is known by the central authorities as to what is going on, and as we were anxious to get as far off from the central authorities as we could, we transferred the base of our operations to the south, and entered into some preliminary negotiations to see if the local authorities were willing to assist us. We found, however, they were very wide awake indeed. They would not only not recognise us, though they knew us well as old explorers, but they telegraphed the fact of our presence to Damascus, and set spies over us to prevent our proceeding with the work. Our work lay on the opposite side of the Jordan, and the Governor of that province resided on the east, so that if we had gone over immediately we should have fallen into his hands. I was very much afraid the chance of our doing any work would be but a small one; but we had fortunately some good friends in the Government, some Christians who were informed we were in the country, and were very happy to do all they could to help us. Having got our instruments, we proceeded as far as Heshbon, and made arrangements for camping and so on. By that time I got information that the Governor had heard we were living in the district of

Moab, and it being impossible to go on there, we thought it better to remove further to the south, and to make arrangements with the local Sheikhs in Moab.

The Sheikhs were not aware of any disagreement between us and the Government, and the Government were not aware we were in Moab, so for a time we had it all our own way. We pitched our camp at the bottom of a ravine where we could not be seen from a distance, and worked for two months in that way. At last Turkish troops came down on the east of our district. We moved as far as we could from them, but unfortunately, though we had subsidised one tribe that ruled over the country, we forgot to subsidise the opposition tribe, whose territory we wished to enter, and of course would have paid for living in their country. There had been a very serious fight between these two large tribes, one of the principal Sheikhs had been killed, and the feeling was very bitter, and consequently in order to avenge themselves one tribe wrote off to the Waly of Damascus, and informed him that the rival tribe were no longer loyal subjects of the Sultan, that they were receiving into their country English officers who were surveying it, and that they intended to occupy the country and proclaim English rule. The consequence was the whole thing was blown about our ears, and orders were issued all through the country to every Governor that soldiers were to be sent, and that we were to be turned out of the country and not allowed to stay there. In pursuance of that threat the Mutessarif came after us. We heard of his coming and removed the camp further east some distance, and established it again at the bottom of a ravine; and he came to the old camping-ground and found we were flown. He sent soldiers after us, but the soldiers were induced to say they could not find us. However, they were still determined not to allow us to go on, and consequently they sent soldiers down southwards to intercept us; we heard through our Christian friends that the soldiers were coming, and so we made a forced march up towards the north. The soldiers went down to the south, looked about for three or four days, could not find us, went back and so reported.

In the period of quiet which followed the explorations went steadily onwards; we were for some time in hiding in the ravines; but at last when we got to one of the most interesting sites in the whole country they found us, and served notice to quit upon us, and said we must leave the country. We remonstrated, and pointed out that we had been guilty of no crime, that we were well known, and had never done any harm; but it was of no use; and it ended by my referring the matter to the English Consul at Jerusalem.

The operations had been going on for under three months, during which time we surveyed about 100 square miles, and got a large number of notes. Then they came back with peremptory orders that we were to go at once; so I sent the instruments and so on back to Jerusalem for the winter quarters; and while in winter quarters Lieutenant Mantell worked out the field work of the 500 square miles' survey.

By those means, after having been in the field for three months, we succeeded in doing 500 square miles, or rather the field work for it, and in collecting a larger number of really interesting notes than we probably have ever done in similar work in Palestine before. It was a very unfortunate thing we were stopped, but it would have been very foolish to have gone on, after we were actually in the hands of the Government, as it would have compromised the Society, and made it almost impossible for them to hope to get any firman or any assistance from the Turks in future. We therefore thought it better to stop, when we could no longer avoid the Turks, and come back with the results; and I am happy to say we do not appear to have fallen much into the bad graces of the Turks, who are very much accustomed to think that as long as you can avoid the Government it is all perfectly fair. Then as I say, when we arrived at this state of things, we started for Jerusalem, went into winter quarters, and proceeded to work out the results. During the winter the Society sent me up to Constantinople to represent our case there. I was received with great kindness by Lord Dufferin, who did all he could for us, and at last succeeded in getting a promise that we should have a firman. The firman was actually drawn up, signed and submitted to the Porte for ratification, but it has not yet been received. In the present crisis it is impossible to suppose the British Ambassador can employ himself to advance such a comparatively small matter from a national point of view; but we hope when the crisis is over, we shall get the authority we want, and shall be able to go on with the survey of Eastern Palestine very satisfactorily indeed. The Arabs are very well disposed towards us, the country is an extremely interesting one, and comparatively easy to survey as compared with the west, and the party that has been sent out have hitherto succeeded in getting their results so rapidly, that I should hope in two or three years at most it would be possible to complete the survey on the eastern side on the same principle as that on the west. What we have done hitherto has gone to show that the country on the east, though it has been visited by several well known explorers, contains an immense amount of new material; and that whereas our work on the west might be said to be merely completing the work of other travellers, our work in the east is in an almost entirely new field, and full of monuments of the greatest interest in the elucidation of Bible history.

We have also laid the foundation of the survey, which is a great point in its speedy execution.

We have measured our base lines, established our triangles, and ascertained the positions of the different tribes, and having got all that information, when we get to work I feel sure we could with great rapidity finish off the work if we get the necessary firman to do it, and there is reason to suppose we shall.

On my return from Constantinople, it became extremely doubtful what we were to do; but almost immediately, within a week after I came back to Jerusalem, the two sons of the Prince of Wales (Prince Edward and

Prince George) arrived in Palestine, and hearing I had been a long time in the country and knew something about it, they commanded me to escort them through the country, and they did what no European Prince has done for at least 600 years, they crossed the Jordan and spent a week in Mount Gilead, and travelled over some of the most interesting parts of the country east of the Jordan. It seems to me to have been a very plucky thing on their part to do, and no doubt it will be a great thing for the Society in showing the interest taken by the Princes during their stay there in the work of the Society.

Several very interesting discoveries were made during their tour, which extended over a part of the country which had been surveyed, and over part not surveyed.

They also visited the Haram of Hebron, which is built over the tombs of the patriarchs, and has not been visited by Europeans, I believe, since the Prince of Wales visited it about twenty years ago.

We were able to make further discoveries in the Haram, and to see certain portions of it which were not seen by the Prince of Wales and Dean Stanley, and also to make an accurate plan of the internal arrangements, and to form a very good idea of the extent and position of the great caves underneath. In reference to that I think the Princes showed a great deal of good feeling with regard to the Moslems in not insisting upon entering the caves, it being understood that if there was an entrance to the caves, they would be allowed to go there. When in the Mosque, the Sheikh of the Mosque represented to us that entrance could only be obtained by taking up certain flooring of the Mosque, and the Princes said they would not wish to do anything that would be considered a desecration of the Mosque, and therefore they gave up the idea of actually descending into the caves.

The description of that visit, and of the discoveries made during the course of that tour, have formed the subject of a long report which is to be submitted to the Prince of Wales, and will afterwards, I hope, be published by the Palestine Exploration Fund; it will be one of the very interesting results of the last campaign out in West and East Palestine.

With regard to the work we have done, the question of course arises whether the results have been worth the amount of trouble that has been expended on them. I am inclined myself to think that the results of this last year's work have been more important in some respects than any we have yet obtained.

In the first instance the name of the great Hittite city I alluded to in commencing my remarks, may perhaps not be very familiar to you, though it is mentioned in the Bible: it is the city of Kadesh on Orontes. It was a very large city of the Hittites; it is mentioned on the Assyrian monuments, and there are *bas reliefs* which represent this city with the Orontes flowing round it. Of all the translations that have been published, there is nothing more interesting than the account of the attacking of this great Hittite city, when Pharaoh was separated from his army, and the Hittites came out in large numbers and surrounded him in his

chariot, and the prayer he offered up is given in a remarkably striking piece of poetry. There is a description of how the Hittites came out and the Pharaoh drove them into the Orontes ; but this monarch was suspected of great exaggeration as to his own prowess, and a little guilty of taking out the names of his predecessors from the marbles, and putting his name in in places where their adventures had resulted successfully.

The question was the position of the city. It is mentioned in the Bible as being on the north of the boundary of David's dominions. When he took his census of the population he went as far as Zidon on the north, and then stopped, for he had come into the district of some independent people mentioned as Hivites. The question was, where the city was to be found. It was to be found within five or six miles in every direction, but no one had exactly hit on the spot. Lieutenant Mantell and myself travelled up into the district, and learnt the names of every place we could ; and one evening, in calling on one of the local authorities, they advised us to go to a place called Neby Mendeh, close by ; they said, "there are some very important ruins you ought to look at."

This was an entirely unexpected piece of information, for I expected myself it was several miles further off. As I say, we heard the name from the authorities of the district, and we afterwards found that several other people had heard the name applied before to this very ruin, though they had not seen there was any great archaeological value in the discovery. Not only did we find the name of the great Hittite city still remaining on the ground, but standing on the top of the great mound we could see the Orontes running round us ; we could see the northern ditch shown on the Assyrian marbles, and the bridge, in almost exactly the same position as they are shown on the *bas relief*, and we seemed to see the whole of the city almost as it was in the time of Rameses. We could trace exactly where the Egyptians came down from the mountains ; we could see the Orontes into which he drove the Hittites on the occasion when the Prince of Aleppo was thrown into the water, as shown in one of the most curious portions of the *bas relief*. The attendants are shown holding him up by the legs and letting the water run out of his nose in order to restore him ; but the inscription says he died.

Not only that, but we fancied we could find even the Hittites themselves on the ground. It was known the Hittites were a people belonging to the Mongol or Tartar races. On the Egyptian monuments they are represented with extremely different complexions, and with pig-tails almost like the Chinese, and wearing a particular dress, such as is worn by the Turcomans in many cases to the present day ; and when we got to the spot we found not only was there a race of fellaheen who represented the Assyrians very much in the type of their countenances, but also a large Turcoman tribe living in the district. This was entirely an offshoot of our work, and was only undertaken to fill up time till we got our instru-

ments ; but it has been received at the British Museum as being one of the most interesting things the Society has yet found out.

As soon as we could we went into Moab, and began surveying there, and up in the north into the mountains of Gilead, and made some discoveries of the most interesting kind on the other side of Jordan. We made there one discovery which we had been disposed to hope we should make, but the extent and importance of it we were not at all prepared for : that is with regard to the rude stone monuments on the other side of Jordan. It had been found by Canon Tristram in passing through the country and making a map of that district, that there were a certain number of dolmens, something like those you find at Stonehenge, but we found over 700 of them altogether—some so large that a tall man could walk under them—consisting of two large stones with a table stone on the top ; and some so small that we should probably have passed them over if they had not been in connection with the large ones. The question was what these monuments were, who they were erected by, and whether they had any connection with Biblical history. There are, I believe, two parties with regard to these stone monuments : some believe they are the graves of ancient prehistoric people, and some believe they are the graves of very modern people, and others think they are ancient altars or places of worship.

There is, curiously enough, very good evidence on both sides of the question. There are instances in which such rude stone monuments are sepulchres, and instances in which it is almost equally clear they belong to large temples or altars. I think when you come to consider the subject, you will see it is rational both parties should be right, because the fact is these monuments represent, as it were, the architecture of the age. If a man wished to build a house, the only way he knew of building it was to erect these enormous blocks and cover them over with a flat roof formed by another stone. If he wished to build himself a grave he could only construct it of two rough stones—he would make a sort of stone box in which the corpse was placed ; and if he wished to construct an altar, in the same way he erected a table stone on large stone pillars.

With regard to the Moabite monuments which occur in such enormous numbers, I think there can be very little doubt they represent ancient places of sacrifice. We found instances in which there was very good reason to suppose they were altars. It was impossible in some cases that any grave could exist underneath ; in other cases there were cup-shaped hollows in the large table-stones at the top with channels connecting them, and the table-stone was carefully tilted in such a direction that anything poured on the stone would run down and be received in the hollows, and a study of the hollows and the channels connecting them led me to suppose they had been used as old places of libation—either libations poured on the stone, or sacrifices offered on the stone and the blood collected in the hollows. They appeared to be erected for such purposes, and in addition to that, curiously enough, the monuments occur in places mentioned in the Bible as being ancient places of sacrifice. That appears to be very strong confirmation of our view ; and it seems to me very interesting we should

discover these old monuments in the old Canaanite places of sacrifice. The first instance of importance was on the side of Mount Nebo; there was there an erection of four stones, with a large flat stone something like 10 feet square placed on the top of them. There is no doubt it was artificial, and there were the cup-shaped hollows in the stone which seemed to indicate it had been used for libations. This was on the side of Mount Nebo; and it struck us immediately that probably it was one of the places where Balaam had erected his altars. Balaam erected seven altars on Mount Nebo, but the altars were not on the very summit of the hill, because it is recorded Balaam left the king and went to the top of the hill, the king remaining apparently by his altar at a lower level; and we found these altars on the side of the hill just below the highest point.

When we came further south we came upon groups of these monuments, and they also occurred in places where Balaam is supposed to have erected altars. I should not like to go so far as to say we have actually found the altars erected by Balaam: but the great number of them (in some cases there being three or four hundred of these stone monuments together) seems to me to suggest that on any important occasion a new altar was erected. I certainly think they are the sort of altar that is likely to have been erected at that time.

When we went to the north we found a very interesting one which is mentioned as the iron bedstead of King Ogg, but that I think is hardly a correct translation. It seems to me it should rather be translated the throne bedstead, or the Prince's Throne.

Then what is still more interesting is that during the Princes' Tour we came quite unexpectedly on another group of these ancient monuments on the site of the city of Dan. Dan was one of the cities where Jeroboam restored the ancient Canaanite worship of the calf. The site of Dan is quite undisputed, and it is one of the few sites in Palestine almost certain. These rude stone monuments were standing on the hill-side above the place where Jeroboam's temple of the calf must have stood. Not only that, but these monuments differed somewhat from those in Moab: they were smaller, and made of hard black basalt, whilst many had been purposely overthrown. I went over them carefully with Mr. Dalton, the Princes' Governor, and he was of opinion they were rude stone monuments, that they had been purposely overthrown, and had been in some cases slashed with hammers or broken to pieces; and when we read how those altars were thrown down and destroyed, I cannot help thinking but that in those rude stone monuments we had come upon the remains of a great destruction of the idolatrous altars in the time of Josiah. Another curious feature that has puzzled many writers is that of the rude stone monuments found on the east side of Jordan, not a single example has been found on the west side of Jordan. We have found some cup-shaped hollows, but not a single monument remains to the present day. As you go northwards to Gilead, you find a few of the monuments still remaining on the hill-side. Still it is very interesting to find what we have done, the stones with cup-shaped hollows which I mentioned before as being

probably used as places of libation, and others overthrown or "pushed over," that being the meaning of the word used in the Bible. These old stone monuments exist in many places mentioned in the Bible, and therefore I think we may really say we have discovered the altars of the Canaanites. This will throw a great deal of light on the study of the Bible; but much work remains to be done on the east side of Jordan. Some of the most interesting places mentioned in the earlier books of the Bible are yet to be found, and there is also a great deal of work in the north that will throw light, I feel sure, if it can only be done, upon the early Christian settlements in the country.

As regards the work still to be done in Palestine, I consider there is some extremely important work remaining to be done, though I think the work of the past year far from unimportant. As regards the discovery of the city of the Hittites, I may say it is regarded as one of the most important archaeological discoveries that have been made of late years. It is now exercising the minds of the great scientific authorities at the British Museum. To a great extent the land of the Hittites has been surveyed, the monuments which were thrown down have been found, and measurements too have been made of them; but there is one thing we have not got—we have not got the key to their language. However, we do not despair, and hope to be able to discover that.

The work before us is full of interest, and if we can only succeed in removing the scruples of the Turks, we shall get on very well. I hope, myself, for many reasons, that the Princess' visit may be advantageous towards our obtaining some assistance in that direction.

THE BODIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

In reference to the above subject brought forward by "Clericus" in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, I should like to ask him for a better authority than the one quoted (Acts vii, 15, 16) respecting the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs. Why may not St. Stephen in speaking of their being transferred be understood to mean from Shechem to Hebron? is there any positive reason (assuming that they were moved) that it was as he states from Hebron to Shechem? The words in that passage, that give Abraham as the purchaser of the ground, are incorrect; he purchased the cave of Machpelah of Ephron, the son of Zohar (Gen. xxiii). Jacob bought ground at Shechem of the children of Hamor (Gen. xxxiii). The word Abraham, though given in ancient MSS., is by commentators supposed to be an interpolation by an early transcriber.

Turning to Josephus ("Ant." II. viii, 2), we read respecting the death of Joseph and his brethren, "Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron; but as to

the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath."

We thus have, first on the authority of Scripture, the proof that Abraham bought land at Hebron, and that he, with Sarah ; Isaac and Rebekah ; and Jacob and Leah were here buried. Also that Jacob bought land at Shechem in which Joseph was buried.

Secondly, on the authority of Josephus the above is confirmed, and Hebron is claimed as the burial place of the sons of Jacob ; a Mohammedan tradition asserts that Joseph was removed from Shechem to Hebron, his tomb is shown in the Cave of Machpelah, a plan of the Cave may be seen in "Those Holy Fields," by the Rev. S. Manning, marking the positions of the seven graves.

The above will, I think, appear clear by the revised version : "Himself, (Jacob,) and our fathers ; (his sons ;) and they were carried." Jacob we know was taken alone to Hebron by all his sons—they—our fathers, his sons, may be assumed to have been taken at one time (Joseph excepted), to Canaan and buried either at Shechem or Hebron, I think at the latter place ; but if it may be allowed that they were first buried at Shechem, then at a subsequent date removed to Hebron, both St. Stephen and Josephus will be correct.

T. FORSTER.

Your correspondent, Mr. Forster, asks for a better authority than St. Stephen's language in Acts vii, 15, 16, for the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs from Hebron to Shechem

Commentators doubtless assume that the passage, as we have it, is inaccurate. The MSS., however, all agree in asserting the sepulchre at Shechem was bought by Abraham. We have no choice, therefore, but to accept it, and must take it as an inspired statement.

There were in fact three distinct purchases :—

Purchase A, by Abraham, Gen. xxiii, 16, 17 ; xlix, 30

A field, ἀγρός, and a cave, σπήλαιον.	For 400 shekels.	At Machpelah.	At Ephron.
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Purchase B, by Abraham, Acts vii, 15, 16.

A sepulchre, μνήμα.	For a sum of money.	"At Shechem" Revisers, τοῦ Συχέμ.	Of the sons of Hamor.
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Purchase C, by Jacob, Gen. xxxiii, 19 ; Josh. xxiv, 32.

A parcel of ground, ἡ μέρις τοῦ ἀγροῦ.	For 100 pieces of silver, ἀγνῶν.	At Shechem.	Of the sons of Hamor.
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At C Joseph's bones were laid.

Since we know the Patriarchs were originally laid in A, St. Stephen's language must mean, I think, they were transferred to B.

As regards Josephus, he states no doubt Joseph's brothers were buried at Hebron, "Ant.," II, viii, 2. His silence as to the removal of their bodies cannot surely be set against St. Stephen's statement that it did take place; any more than his saying ("Jewish War," IV, ix, 7) that "the monuments of Abram's posterity are to this day shown in Hebron, of excellent marble and of most elegant workmanship." Perhaps the monuments remained, although the bodies were removed.

I readily admit the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs is very mysterious. Who carried it out, and when, and why he did so, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. Moreover, so far as we know from Genesis, Abraham was not at Sichem more than once (ch. xii, 6, 7), and did not then make the purchase St. Stephen mentions. And further, Josephus asserts ("Ant.," XII, vi, 7) that not only Abraham, but his descendants, built themselves sepulchres at Hebron.

On the other hand, regarding St. Stephen's language as inspired, and observing an absolute agreement of the MSS. in Acts vii, 15, 16, I hold to my opinion that the bodies were transferred from Hebron to Shechem: *μετετέθησαν*, *translati sunt*, Vulgate. And I repeat my suggestion, that search should be made at Shechem, not at Joseph's Tomb, now shown near Jacob's Well, but elsewhere.

CLERICUS.

September 12th, 1882.

I CANNOT understand how "Clericus" (p. 177) can make out from Acts vii, 15 and 16, "that the bodies of the patriarchs, with Jacob—if not those of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah—were *transferred* from Hebron to Shechem."

In those verses, no mention is made of Hebron at all, but "Egypt," into which "Jacob went down, and died," is evidently the locality whence "he and our fathers" "were carried over."

This *carrying over* is surely the same as spoken of in *contemplation*, in Genesis xlvii, 30, where Jacob gives the charge to Joseph, followed by Genesis xlix, 29-31, where he renews it to the patriarchs; and in *execution*, in Genesis l, 12, 13, where the fulfilment of Jacob's desire is described.

The other *carrying over*, viz., of Joseph, which *was* to Shechem, was likewise a carrying over from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, and not at all a translation from Hebron or any other place of sepulture in Canaan.

Has not "Clericus" noticed that the wording of verse 16 in our version must be erroneous?

For this reason, that the "parcel of ground" at Sychem was bought by

Jacob, not by Abraham, while the "sepulchre which Abraham bought" was purchased from the "sons of Heth," and not from "the sons of Emmor, *the father of Sychem!*"

In the text, the two places, purchasers and sellers are mixed up, but yet there is, I venture to think, no room for any transference from Hebron to Shechem.

H. B. S. W.

MIZPEH.

"A city set on a hill cannot be hid."

To reject Neby Samwil as the site of Mizpeh, because it is not close to the great north road, and to place this city, so famous in sacred history, on any other hill in the Holy Land, seems to me to be straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel.

The topographical notices of Mizpeh, instead of being vague, as might at first sight appear, prove on careful examination to be so distinct that I would defy even the discoverer of the philosopher's stone to point out any spot, except the hill of Neby Samwil, that satisfies the five following conditions required by the Bible and I Maccabees :—

1. Mizpeh was in Benjamin, and on a hill, as is implied in its name, which means "the watch-tower."
2. It was "over against," *i.e.*, in sight of Jerusalem.
Further, it was in such a position :—
3. That it made a desirable fortress for Judah against Israel, when Asa dismantled Ramah.
4. That Ishmael on leaving Mizpeh, "to go over to the Ammonites," *naturally* passed near "the great waters that are in Gibeon."
5. That from Mizpeh Ishmael could without difficulty meet the eighty pilgrims on their way from near Shiloh to Jerusalem.

After fortifying Neby Samwil on these five points, I invited an attack (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 91), and hoped that any assailant would direct his line of fire right on my position; but the demonstration made against Neby Samwil (p. 258) ends only in smoke. For while Captain Conder both urges that Jer. xli, 5-7 has been the main objection, and adds that the notices of Mizpeh are "so vague that it seems impossible to decide between the two high places of Nob and Gibeon, to one of which the name Mizpeh appears to have been applied," he makes no attempt whatever to show *how* Neby Samwil fails to satisfy any one of the necessary conditions, or *how* any other place fulfils them.

It is not desirable to allow the spoilers thus to disquiet the country, and therefore we are obliged to descend from "the watch-tower," and by

cutting them off in whatever places they may be found, to show how each has swallowed the camel in whole or part.

(*a.*) In Sinai and Palestine it is said that Scopus immediately north of Jerusalem "meets every requirement of the notices of Mizpeh;" but while quoting Jer. xli, 6, Dr. Stanley overlooks the context, which enforcing condition 4, makes it impossible for Mizpeh to have been at Scopus.

For Ishmael (Jer. xli, 10) departed to go over to the Ammonites, and could not thus in going *eastwards* from Scopus pass near the great waters of Gibeon, which are more than two miles *west* of the longitude of the former place. Josephus it is true in this passage substitutes Hebron for Gibeon; but being more imaginative than observant, he also elsewhere interchanges these places, stating in his "Antiquities" that Asahel was slain in the battle at Hebron. The same condition is equally fatal to the suggestion about the high place of Nob (at whatever point that place can have been on the road to Jerusalem from Geba), and indeed to any position on the Mount of Olives.

Some unable to swallow the whole camel, cut it into two by supposing that the Mizpeh of Samuel and that of Jeremiah were two distinct places. This Alexander-like stratagem may be shown, however, to be equally ineffectual.

(*b.*) Umm Saffa has been proposed (1876, p. 171) as a "very suitable position for the Mizpeh of Jeremiah, being on the road from Samaria to Jerusalem." It seems, however, to be five miles distant from that road, near Ain el Haramiyeh; to be quite out of sight of it; and being many miles north of Bethel, to be in the kingdom of *Israel*, and therefore in a position quite impossible for the Mizpeh fortified by Asa, King of *Judah* (Jer. xli, 9).

(*c.*) Again it has been proposed to place the Mizpeh of Samuel at Sôba or (D) at Karbet Shûfa, making it in both cases distinct from the Mizpeh of later times, but unfortunately for these suggestions, the Maspha (*i.e.*, Mizpeh) of I Macc., iii, 46.: "The place where they prayed aforetime in Israel," was obviously the Mizpeh of I Sam. vii, and was also "over against" Jerusalem. Since this last characteristic has not been claimed for either Sôba or Khurbet Shûfa, I conclude it has no existence in either case.

Thus these five conditions seem to me to make "a heap for ever" of all rival places, and Neby Samwil alone remains to be identified with Mizpeh.

Simply stated, the problem in this: To find a hill top, south of the latitude of Ramah, north of that of Jerusalem, and not east of the longitude of the waters of Gibeon, which is visible from Jerusalem, and also suitable for a fortress, and commands a good view of the north road.

Here we may say, "*solvitur ambulando*," any one at Jerusalem may settle the question for himself in a five minutes' walk. If only one place satisfies all these conditions, as Neby Samwil does, that place *must* be Mizpeh. Let us therefore "rest and be thankful," and have no misgivings because the ancient name is now wanting. Perhaps in forty years some

educated Gibeonite will say that Neby Samwil was also called Shûja, or even Mizpah.

For had not Dr. Robinson, while forced, not by luck, but by discrimination, to assign as the probable site of Ai the place with ruins south of Deir Diwan, also to make this sad admission: "The name, however, has utterly perished. We inquired diligently after it throughout the whole region, but without finding the slightest trace?" And now forty years after we have the name Kh. Haiyan applied to this very spot, which after Mr. Trelawney Saunders' explanation about *the valley (g)*, seems to me without question to represent the long lost Ai. Supply will finally overtake demand as to names in Palestine; so that too much importance must not be attached to the absence or even presence of any ancient name, especially after it has been often advertised for, as is the case with Ai.

W. F. B.

EBENEZER.

AFTER Mizpeh comes Ebenezer, which seems to me to fix itself beyond question (as already noticed, 1881, 100) at Kh. Samwil, one mile south of Neby Samwil. As however this site is viewed with suspicion, and the early Christian site at Deir Abân, supported by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is adopted in preference by Captain Conder, it is desirable to demolish the claims of this rival site by sifting the notices about Ebenezer.

Deir Abân is two miles east-south-east of Ain Shems (Bethshemesh), and twelve miles west-south-west of Mizpeh.

M. Ganneau thinks that the name refers to the great stone (*eben*) in the field of Joshua (1 Sam., vi, 18.) If so the name must have moved at least two miles to the east, as the princes of the Philistines only went "unto the border of Bethshemesh." He also is of opinion that the Ark was restored at the very same place at which it was captured, and that therefore Deir Abân represents Ebenezer, which he takes to have been the limit of the pursuit of the Philistines (1 Sam., vii, 12).

But (1) The battle near Ebenezer was, however, apparently an attempt of Israel to free themselves from the Philistines (1 Sam. iv, 1, 9), and would therefore be more probably fought in the heart of the country, like the battle of Michmash, than at the foot of the hills near Bethshemesh.

(2) Ebenezer was between Mizpeh and Shen (1 Sam. vii, 12). This is a common Biblical way of describing a position:—"Between Bethel and Ai" (Gen. xiii, 3) was a distance of two or three miles; "between Ramah and Bethel" (Judg. iv, 5) five miles; between "Zorah and Eshtael" (Judg. xiii, 25; xvi, 31) two miles, if the latter be at Eshma. In these cases "between" is certainly of use in fixing the position of the particular

spot referred to. But as Mizpeh is *twelve* miles from Deir Abân, then if the latter represented Ebenezer it would have been very unlike Biblical exactitude to have described it as between Mizpeh and Shen: for some place *nearer* than the latter would assuredly have been named. For instance, if Kirjath-jearim had been (which it was not) at Kh. Erna, why not have said that Ebenezer was between that city and Bethshemesh? The distance between the two is just four miles, while Deir Abân is half-way between the two and only half-a-mile out of the direct line.

Further, Captain Conder in support of his view that Deir Abân represents Ebenezer, brings forward the existence of other required names in its neighbourhood. He proposes to identify Mizpeh with Kh. Shûfa; Beth-Car with 'Akûr, and Kh. el Haj Hasan, two miles west of Surah (Zorah) with Shen. But again there is a serious objection to these identifications. Deir Abân is more than two miles south of the line joining his proposed sites for Beth-Car and Mizpeh; and again why should a more distant place be chosen when the well known Zorah was two miles nearer, and exactly on the same line? Besides we have shown that Mizpeh was not at Kh. Shûfa, and no importance need be attached to the name Deir Abân, as it occurs elsewhere, *e.g.*, six miles west of Samaria and a mile north of a village called Shûfeh.

Ebenezer has apparently been placed at the foot of the hills, because the expression, "*Hitherto* hath the Lord helped us," has been wrongly taken to mean, *up to the point where the men of Israel ceased to pursue the Philistines.*

"Hitherto" seems to me rather to signify, "up to this day," unless it can simply mean "here," the spot where the Philistines were first discomfited by the storm.

The Philistines would naturally approach Neby Samwîl from the south, and also flee in the same direction.

The examples of the use of "between" given above, would lead us to place Shen from two to five miles' distance from Mizpeh, and we actually find a place called Deir Yesin (answering well to the Hebrew Ha-shen) *three miles south* of Neby Samwîl; while further down the valley along which the routed army must have fled, there is an eminence with the name Airo Kârim, resembling Beth-Car. Farther, Kustril, an old Roman castellum, "a fortress like village," three and a half miles south-west of Neby Samwîl, answers well in position, distance and name, to the Apeh (fortress) where the Philistines encamped when Israel pitched beside Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv, 1).

Two miles south of Mizpeh the Philistines in their flight would reach the valley, so that Ebenezer must have been somewhere near this line of two miles. It is a most remarkable circumstance that on or close to this line, just a mile from Neby Samwîl, and on no other side of the hill, we meet with the name Khurbet Samwîl, or the *ruin of Samuel*, a very probable name to be given to a memorial erected by the prophet, just as the cairn of stones at Ras es Sherijah raised by Captain Conder has been named by the natives "Captain's Cairn."

This indefatigable explorer thinks, however (1881, 258) that the ruin Kh. Samwil got its name from the hill Neby Samwil, and not the hill from the ruin. Why so? The name of Samuel was certainly attached to the hill in the fourth century, as in the time of Procopius the convent of St. Samuel stood there. Had the name of Ramah suggested that of Samuel, then the title ought to have been attached to Er Ram. The name of Mizpeh cannot have attached that of Samuel to Neby Samwil, for the early Christians (as Captain Conder points out) placed it near Deir Abân, probably at Kh. Shûfa.

The only explanation that can be given for this conspicuous hill having at so early a date acquired the name of Samuel, is that "the stone of help" on the southern slope preserved in some form or legend the name of the prophet, and subsequently gave it to the summit of the hill. Thus there seems to be every reason for regarding the ruin called Kh. Samwil as marking the site of the world-wide Ebenezer.

I may point out that Captain Conder's experience leads him to this conclusion (1881, 271), "the only really permanent and ancient names are those of villages, *ruins* and springs . . . the ancient names of hills and valleys have, as a rule, been utterly lost."

He further adds (p. 152 *supra*), "the names of hills and valleys, as a rule, are either purely descriptive, or else taken from the village, ruin or spring." Precisely so, therefore I maintain that Neby Samwil got its name from Kh. Samwil, and the latter monument was so called from Ebenezer, Samuel's great monument.

W. F. B.

THE HIGH PLACE AT GIBEON.

As Neby Samwil undoubtedly represents Mizpeh, it is impossible for it to have been what is commonly called "the high-place of Gibeon." Mizpeh and Gibeon were (1) distinct places (Josh. xviii, 25, 26; Neh. iii, 7), and (2) more than a mile apart, separated by a wide valley, and the great high place is always in the Bible said to have been *at* Gibeon, which would have been a curious way of describing a spot situated *not* at Gibeon, but at a distance in another no less well known city.

W. F. B.

HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

IV. THE ROCK RIMMON.

THIS has been already treated of (p. 50 *supra*), but I gladly reply to the remaining objections urged by Captain Conder.

1. "Six hundred men cannot have lived in the cave (p. 156) four months without ventilation" (1881, 250). But the cave is *not* without ventilation. Mr. Rawnsley reported that in the cave "the wind well nigh blew our torches out." Perhaps it will now be objected that the cave is too draughty. If it is meant that "they cannot have remained in it for four months *without ever coming out*, then I ask, who ever supposed they did? The cave was *only a hiding place*, and yet it allows more square feet per man than is required for each child in an elementary school.
2. "It is not mentioned in the Bible." Neither is the making of Jacob's well at Sychar mentioned in Genesis.
3. So far is Gesenius from stating or implying that *sela* does not mean a precipitous rock, that (as observed or unobserved by Captain Conder) he actually suggests the identity of the *Rock Rimmon* with Saul's *Migron* (precipice).

The solitary objection that "the Hebrew word (*sela*) has not the meaning of precipice," is in direct contradiction to Captain Conder's own writings previous to, simultaneous with, and subsequent to this objection on page 248; *e.g.* :—

- (a) "Joktheel (*cliff* of). 2 Kings xiv, 7 = Selah." "Handbook," 416.
- (b) "The south *cliff* of the Michmash valley." (1 Sam. xiv, 4, *sela*) p. 248.
- (c) In this passage the Bible gives the title of *the sela* to both the northern and southern sides of this gorge, but Captain Conder in his interesting report applies to them the terms of *cliff* or *precipice* no less than *thirty-three times* in seven pages (247—253).
4. Lastly, his too exacting canon (p. 151) would make the identification of the Rock Rimmon with the cliff in Wâdy Suweinit near the cave of El Jai into a vague conjecture, "unless the ancient name can be proved still to exist." It will therefore be satisfactory to all concerned, to see Mr. Rawnsley's vindication (177) of Rumman (Rimmon) as a genuine name and above suspicion. It is probably by this time that Benjamin's stronghold is still, as of yore, a most dangerous place to attack.

W. F. B.

6th July, 1882.

VARIETIES.

The Garrison. Captain Conder's proposal (p. 141 *supra*) to make Jonathan into an iconoclast, does not seem to me to be borne out by the passages referred to.

נִיב not מִיבָה (as quoted by that writer) is the Hebrew word used for *garrison* in 1 Sam. xiii, 3, 4: "Jonathan smote the garrison in Geba;" and in xiv, 14: "There was a slaughter of twenty men." In 15 it is said "the *garrison* trembled;" surely the vibrations of a pillar cannot here be recorded. Bones not stones are doubtless what Jonathan broke on both sides of the passage of Michmash.

Ai θ. On page 140 it is suggested that the great stone heap of *et Tell* may be the cairn raised over the body of the King of Ai. As however Ai was a small place (Josh. vii, 3) and Kh. Haiyan is nearly a mile from *et Tell*, the latter could hardly be described as being "at the entering in of the gate of the city," the place where the king's body was cast (viii, 29).

Mr. Trelawney Saunders points out that the valley south of Deir Diwan and not that on the north of it, is the *valley* (*ge*) of viii, 11, and thus he removes the difficulty hitherto attaching to the identification of Ai with Kh. Haiyan.

W. F. B.

THE SEPULCHRES OF THE KINGS.

WHO WERE BURIED IN THEM?

DAVID, the first King of Israel who reigned in Jerusalem, after his conquest of the Jebusite stronghold, is said (1 Chron. xv, 1) to have "made him houses" in the "city of David," an expression which has by some been thought to refer to these "sepulchres," where he and some of his successors found their last resting-places.

However this may be, the number of those who were buried in them has been referred to in the course of the controversy that has arisen over the actual position of these so-called "tombs of the kings," and has apparently been a matter of uncertainty.

In the hope, therefore, of settling this particular question, I have brought together, in a succinct form, all the direct statements which are made in Scripture respecting the various Kings of Judah, as follows:—

			IN THE CITY OF DAVID			
1 Kings	ii, 10,	David	and was buried		his father.	
1 "	xi, 43,	Solomon	" "		" "	
2 Chron.	ix, 31,	"	and he was buried			
1 Kings	xiv, 31,	Rehobam	and was buried with his fathers			
2 Chron.	xii, 16,	"	and was buried			
1 Kings	xv, 8,	Abijam	and they buried him		his father	
2 Chron.	xiv, 1,	Abijah	" "		his father.	
1 Kings	xv, 24,	Asa	and was buried with his fathers			
2 Chron.	xvi, 13, 14	"	{ and they buried him in his own sepulchres which he had made for himself			
1 Kings	xxii, 50,	Jehoshaphat	and was buried with his fathers			
2 Chron.	xxi, 1,	"	" "			
2 Kings	viii, 24,	Joram	" "			
2 Chron.	xxi, 20,	(Jehoram)	they buried him			
2 Kings	ix, 27, 28	(Ahaziah)	{ and buried him in his sepul- chres with his fathers			
2 Chron.	xxiv, 16,	(Jehoiada)	and they buried him			
2 Kings	vii, 20, 21	(Joash)	died and they buried him with his fathers			

{ but not in the sepulchres of the
Kings.

among the Kings.

2 Chron. xxiv, 25,	(Jotham)	died	and they buried him	IN THE CITY OF DAVID.	{ but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the Kings.
2 Kings xiv, 20,	(Amaziah)		{ and he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers		
2 Chron. xxv, 28,	(")		and buried him with his fathers		(or, Judah).
2 Chron. xxvi, 23,	Uzziah		and they buried him with his fathers		{ in the field of the burial which belonged to the Kings.
2 Kings xv, 7,	Azariah		" "		
2 Kings xv, 38,	Jotham		and was buried with his fathers	IN THE CITY OF DAVID	his father.
2 Chron. xxvii, 9,	"		and they buried him		
2 Kings xvi, 20,	Ahaz		and was buried with his fathers		
2 Chron. xxviii, 27,	"		and they buried him		{ in the city even in Jerusalem; but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the Kings of Israel.
2 Chron. xxxii, 33,	Hezekiah		" "		{ in the chiefest (ascent) of the sepulchres of the sons of David.
2 Kings xxi, 18,	Manasseh		and was buried		{ in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza.
2 Chron. xxxiii, 20,	"		and they buried him		in his own house.
2 Kings xxi, 26,	(Amon)		and he was buried		{ in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza.
2 " xxiii, 30,	(Josiah)		and buried him		in his own sepulchre.
2 Chron. xxxv, 24,	(")		died, and was buried		{ in one of (marg. among) the sepulchres of his fathers.

A careful comparison of the parallel expressions used will, I think bring into prominence several interesting points.

Thus it will be found that the phrase "slept with his fathers" is only used of those kings whose end was peaceful.

Those of whom it is not used, which are distinguished by the passages being in *italic* type,¹ all met their deaths by violence.

All the kings, from David to Ahaz inclusive, as well as Jehoiada the priest, are said to have been buried in the "city of David," but it is also distinctly stated that three of these, Jehoram, Joash, and Ahaz, were not buried in the "sepulchres of the kings," and the same may be presumed of Uzziah, who, on account of his having been a leper, was interred in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings.

In regard to Hezekiah, who appears by the authorised version to have been laid in the "chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David," but is not said to have been interred in the "city of David," it seems probable that the alternative rendering of "in the ascent to," etc., is the more correct, and may point to a different place of sepulture from the actual "sepulchres of the kings."

The words used of Manasseh, "in his own house," may, perhaps, be comparable with "in his sepulchres" of Amon, and Josiah's burial "in his own sepulchre."

H. B. S. W.

THE HOLY ANOINTING OIL.

On page 105 of Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," occurs the statement that the preparation of the Holy Anointing Oil "was performed only once in the whole history of the nation, the curse of Keritoth, or penal death, being held (Ex. xxx, 33) to apply to its repetition, even in extreme need." Also on page 106, line 6, it is said, "the holy oil failed in the reign of King Josiah."

What authority is there for these statements? None is given, while in Smith's Bible Dictionary, article "Ointment," page 597, we are told that the rabbinical writers said that it lasted 900 years, *i.e.*, to the Captivity; and 2 Kings xxiii, 30, actually records the anointing of one king later than Josiah, *viz.*, his son Jehoahaz.

Then too, the mode of interpreting Exodus xxx, 32, 33, as being intended to apply to the mere *repetition* of the composition of the oil, though for the same holy uses as it was first made for, instead of (as usually understood) as applying to its manufacture by any of the people and for common use, seems to require confirmation, and appears to be contrary to the

¹ See passages tabulated.

statement in 1 Chron. ix, 30, that "some of the priests made the ointment of the spices," as well as to the analogous case of the holy incense (Ex. xxx, 34, 35), respecting which an identical prohibition is given (in verse 37), and the same penalty is denounced (in verse 38).

If, as is well known, the making of the incense was frequently repeated by duly authorised persons, the prohibition, which applied to both, cannot rightly be held, in the case of the holy oil, to mean that no more of it was to be made under any circumstances.

Yours truly,
H. B. S. W.

September 26th, 1881.

THE CROMLECHS OF CORNWALL AND MOAB.

August 22nd, 1882.

HAVING taken great interest in the account of cromlechs and circles recently discovered by the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I send you a brief description of some of the principal in Cornwall, which I have taken the measurement of. They appear to me to claim a close relationship with those discovered at Amman and Minyeh.

I. The Trethevy Cromlech near Liskeard.

This cromlech has three supporting stones, whose respective heights are—9 feet, 7 feet 6 inches, and 5 feet 3 inches. There are also three huge stones abutting against the supporters. In the interior is a flat stone 6 feet in length, in a slanting position, on a bed of slate rock. The cover stone is 13 feet 9 inches long, 8 feet 6 inches wide; the thickness varying from 16 to 22 inches. At the north-east corner of this stone is a small round hole about 6 inches in diameter, whether artificial or not is uncertain.

Within two miles of this, on Linkinhorn Downs, are three stone circles, called the Hurlers. They lie from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The northernmost circle is 120 feet in diameter, the centre 144 feet in diameter, and the southern 100 feet in diameter. The stones are about 18 inches in thickness, 24 inches wide, and stand 4 feet 6 inches above ground. Several of the stones are fallen. About 60 yards westward of these circles are two large upright stones, which may have formed part of an avenue or approach.

II. The Lanyon Cromlech in the parish of Madron.

This has three supporting stones—two at one end, and one at the other, each of these being about 4 feet 6 inches in height. The cover stone is 16 feet 8 inches long; the form is irregular, but the width across the centre is 8 feet 6 inches. It is 18 inches in thickness, and its girth is 47 feet.

III. The Zennor Cromlech is about one mile from Zennor Church, on the summit of a granite strewn hill, looking out on the sea.

This cromlech is probably the most gigantic in Europe. The stone

forming the south support is 9 feet high, and 11 feet wide at the base. The stone on the north side is 7 feet high, 4 feet 6 inches wide at the base, average thickness 15 inches.

A smaller stone on the same side is 3 feet 6 inches in height, and 4 feet 3 inches wide at the base. The stone at the east end is 8 feet 6 inches high, and 4 feet wide at the base. The stone at the west end, serving as a barrier to the entrance, is 4 feet high and 3 feet broad. Stones separate from the former, and at the east end, height 6 feet 6 inches, width at base 11 feet; and a smaller one 3 feet in height. The cover stone is 17 feet long, 9 feet broad, and 16 inches thick. The area enclosed by the supporting stones is about 6 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. The cover stone has unfortunately slipped from its uprights, its west end now resting on the ground.

IV. The Chywoon or Chûn Cromlech, in the parish of St. Just, and about five miles from Penzance, and considered to be the most perfect specimen in England.

It has four large supporting stones, two of which are 8 feet in height, the others between 5 and 6 feet in height. The cover stone is a rough slab of hard grained granite. It is 12 feet long, 11 feet wide in the centre, and varying from 14 inches to 2 feet in thickness. The measurement within is 6 feet by 4 feet.

Tregascol Circle, also in the parish of St. Just. It is 66 feet in diameter. The stones are 18 inches wide, 11 inches thick, and about 3 feet in height.

I think it very probable that these cromlechs, &c., were in the first instance erected by the Phœnicians, who traded thither from a very early period, and that afterwards they were erected by the ancient Britons in various parts of the kingdom as we now find them. Doubtless they were sacrificial altars, many of them at an after day being made available as burying places for chiefs among the people.

G. W. PHILLIPS.

THE CUBICAL STONES OF MOAB.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, Lieutenant Conder suggests that the cubical stones found in Moab, of which a representation is given on p. 72, are identical with the Asheroth of the Bible. Permit me to draw attention to a few passages which are in, at least apparent, opposition to that view.

Deut. xvi, 25 : "Thou shalt not set up an Asherah of any tree near to the altar of the Lord which thou shalt make to thyself. Neither shalt thou rear a pillar, which the Lord thy God hates."

Judges vi, 25 : "Thou shalt overthrow the altar of Baal, which belongs to thy father, and cut down the Asherah which is by it, . . . and

thou shalt offer up a burnt-offering out of the wood of the Asherah, which thou shalt cut down. . . . And the men of the city rose up early in the morning, and behold, Baal's altar was broken to pieces, and the Asherah which was by it cut down."

2 Kings xviii, 4 : "He removed the high places, and broke in pieces the pillars, and cut down the Asherah."

These passages all seem to imply that the Asherah was made of wood, and not of cubical shape. If it was of stone, why was it ordered to be "cut down," while the altar of Baal was to be "broken?" and why, when Gideon had executed the command, does the narrative itself make the same distinction? In speaking of Hezekiah, the very same word is used in connection with the Asherah, while שֶׁבֶר is used instead of כָּהַצ, with, of course, the same meaning, with reference to the pillars. But the injunction in Deuteronomy not only implies the possibility of the Asherah being made of wood, but suggests that it was *only* made of wood. Can we imagine that the Law-Giver, knowing that an idolatrous object of worship was made both of wood and stone, would have said to the people, "Thou shalt not make it of wood?" Would not that imply that they might make it of stone?

Again, as to the shape. The passages are not decisive on the point, but I think they are rather against its being cubical. I do not see how it is possible to speak of "cutting down" a stone 8 feet long and 3 feet high, or even one 3 feet 4 inches long and 3 feet 6 inches high. On the other hand, in Deut. xvi, 22, תָּקִים is used in reference to the "pillars," while תַּמֵּצ is applied to the Asherah. The former word implies something higher than it is long or broad, while the latter is indefinite.

July 10th.

W. E. S.

LIST OF DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

SEPTEMBER 22ND TO DECEMBER 16TH, 1881.

a denotes Annual Subscriber.

* * If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
						Brought forward			54	15	6
<i>a</i> B. Anderson, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> G. Flashman, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. W. H. Askwith ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. G. B. Goldberg ..	..	..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Anderson ..	..	..	5	0	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Goldberg ..	..	..	0	10	0
T. S. Aldis, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> G. S. Gibson, Esq. ..	..	..	5	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Anderson ..	..	..	2	2	0	G. P. Griffith, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> G. C. Ashmead, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mrs. Guise ..	..	..	1	0	6
<i>a</i> J. W. Barry, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. M. Gubbins ..	..	..	1	0	6
<i>a</i> Rev. W. Barnard ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> E. W. Gere, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. T. C. Britten ..	..	..	0	10	0	<i>a</i> Rev. H. M. Gunn ..	..	..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. H. Blamire ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> R. Govett, Esq. ..	..	..	1	0	0
" " 1882 ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Major Grover, R.E. ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. E. H. Bickersteth ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> W. Glass, Esq. ..	..	..	0	5	6
<i>a</i> J. Benham, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Gorham ..	..	..	0	10	0
Birmingham (Anon.) ..	..	..	0	1	0	<i>a</i> Miss Hodgson, Donation and					
E. Bickerton Evans, Esq. ..	..	..	10	0	0	Subscription ..	..	..	4	0	6
<i>a</i> John Brewster, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. G. Horner ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss E. Bromby ..	..	..	0	10	6	Messe Hobbs, Esq. ..	..	..	0	3	10
Gen. Sir J. Cowell ..	..	..	5	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. S. Hawtrey ..	..	..	2	2	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Cruikshank ..	..	..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. R. Henderson ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Dr. Cooke ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> George Hardy, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Misses Capel ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> J. T. Houghton, Esq. ..	..	..	2	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Cash ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> H. P. Holford, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> C. C. Cox, Esq. ..	..	..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. H. Hamilton ..	..	..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. Dr. Cumming ..	..	..	0	10	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Hughes ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss C. Cotton ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Frank Haes, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> A. Cates, Esq. ..	..	..	2	2	0	<i>a</i> Rev. J. H. Harrison ..	..	..	1	1	0
A. Cator's Estate ..	..	..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Miss Jackson ..	..	..	1	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. Campernown ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. L. Jardine, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Sir John Coode ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> A. W. Jones, Esq. ..	..	..	5	0	0
<i>a</i> J. Davis, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Robinson Kay ..	..	..	1	0	0
<i>a</i> C. Dix, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Miss Kay ..	..	..	1	0	0
<i>a</i> T. H. Dalzell, Esq., 1881 and						<i>a</i> Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick ..	..	..	1	1	0
1882 ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. A. Kennion ..	..	..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> W. Douglas, Esq., ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> R. P. Ker, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. M. S. Edgell ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. J. G. Kitchen ..	..	..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Dr. Fraser ..	..	..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> W. J. LeCoeq, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Frith ..	..	..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mesrs. Lemon and Pattinson			1	1	0
<i>a</i> C. F. Fellowes, Esq. ..	..	..	5	0	0						
Carried forward						Carried forward			97	1	10

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	97	1	10
aRev. D. D. Robertson, M.A.	1	1	0
aMiss Leach	0	10	0
aRev. W. R. Linton	1	1	0
aHon and Rev. J. W. Leigh ..	0	10	0
aRev. W. L. Lang	0	10	6
Bath Street Presbyterian Sun- day School Liverpool	1	1	0
aJ. D. Lamb, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. A. Löwy	0	10	0
Dr. Lortet	9	10	0
aMrs. Melville	0	10	6
aRev. Alex. Mackennal	1	1	0
aJas. Miller, Esq.	0	10	6
aMessrs. Muir	1	0	0
aJames McCorkell, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. J. McColl, 1881	0	10	0
" " 1882	0	10	0
aCapt. Moody	1	1	0
aJ. T. Mallett, Esq.	1	1	0
aMiss R. Muspratt	0	10	6
aMiss Macwhirter	0	10	6
aP. Mearns, Esq.	0	10	0
aJ. Mordy, Esq.	0	10	0
aMiss Newton, (1881, 1882) ..	1	0	0
aLady Augustus Onslow	2	2	0
aH. M. Ormerod, Esq.	10	0	0
aRev. H. Osgood, (1878-1881) ..	2	2	0
aMiss Partridge	1	1	0
aRev. Philpin de Riviere	0	5	0
aMrs. Plaisto	0	10	6
aH. Prigg, Esq.	0	10	0
aD. Peoples, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. A. Palmer	1	1	0
aRev. Thos. Powell	1	1	0
aJ. Phené, Esq, L.L.D., 1880 ..	2	2	0
1881	0	10	6
aRev. T. Price	0	10	6
aRev. Lacey H. Rumsey	0	10	6
aMessrs. Rutherford, Bros. ..	1	0	0
aJ. H. Robson, Esq.	0	10	6
aW. Ritchie, Esq.	1	1	0
aH. Richardson, Esq.	1	1	0

Carried forward 147 19 10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	147	19	10
aRev. D. D. Robertson, M.A...	1	1	0
aRev. Dr. Robinson	0	10	0
aT. Roberts, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. C. S. Reynolds	1	1	0
aW. Robinson, Esq.	1	1	0
aMiss A. Styan	1	1	0
aMiss Sterry	0	10	6
aJohn Shelly, Esq.	0	10	6
aW. Sandby, Esq.	1	1	0
aIn Memoriam, Stanton Court	2	0	0
aMiss Strutt	0	11	0
aMark Stirrup, Esq.	0	10	6
aMajor Speid	1	1	0
aJohn Stuart, Esq.	0	5	0
aR. M. Strang, Esq.	0	10	6
aJ. A. Strachan, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. J. E. Smyth	2	2	0
aJ. S. Smith, Esq.	1	1	0
aJ. Smallpiece, Esq.	1	1	0
aE. Stock, Esq... ..	0	10	6
Rev. C. E. Steward	1	1	0
aE. R. Shaw, Esq.	0	10	6
aHon. Otway Toler	1	0	0
aE. Thomas, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. J. W. W. Taylor	2	2	0
aH. J. F. Taylor, Esq.	0	10	6
aLord Talbot de Malahide ..	1	0	0
aRev. H. H. Westmore	1	1	0
aG. Howard Wright, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aRev. J. Winter	0	10	0
aJ. R. Wigham, Esq.	1	1	0
aMrs. Bigoe Williams	1	0	0
aRev. C. Watson	10	0	0
aSidney Woolf, Esq.	1	1	0
aDouglas Walmsley, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. H. Whigham.. ..	0	10	6
aJohn Windeatt, Esq.	2	0	0
aA. J. Woodhouse, Esq.	2	2	0
aE. C. Wade, Esq.	1	0	0
aF. A. Williamson, Esq.	1	1	0
aPer Mrs. Wolff	1	10	0
aRev. G. Woolnough	2	10	6

Total .. 201 14 10

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

Acknowledged in detail under special heading.

						£	s.	d.
				Brought forward		200	13	10
Aberdeen .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	24	3	6
Brighton .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	13	3	0
Bolton .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	5	16	6
Birmingham ..	..	..	..	..	..	2	7	0
Chichester Ladies' Association	..	..	..	..	..	3	14	6
Cork .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	0
Cardiff .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	9	19	6
Croydon .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	25	2	6
Glasgow .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	12	9	2
Irvine .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11	6
Manchester .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	28	19	0
Sydney .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	31	3	0
Scarborough ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11	0
Weston-super-Mare ..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	0
						373	6	0
From other sources .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	596	11	11
						969	17	11

ABERDEEN.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> Mrs. Patterson, 5, Mackie-place	0	5	0	<i>a</i> Rev. Prof. Forbes, 3, Westfield-terrace	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Lumsden, Ferryhill House.. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mrs. Maclure, 18, Rubislaw-terrace	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. Mr. Selkirk, 5, Westfield-terrace, for 1880-1881 ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Misses Chalmers, 3, St. Swithins-street	0	5	0
<i>a</i> Misses Fiddes, Union Street..	0	5	0	<i>a</i> John Smith, Esq., Queen's-gate	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. M. Clement De Faye, Schoolhill	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. Prof. Milligan, D.D., University	0	10	6
<i>a</i> James Mitchell, Esq., Schoolhill	1	0	0	Rev. George Smith, South Crown-street ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> David Allan, Esq., Union-street	0	10	6	<i>a</i> James Stephen, R.N., 155, Crown-street..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> William Hunter, Esq., 14, Adelphi	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mrs. J. F. White, 269, Union-street	1	1	0
<i>a</i> William Grant, Esq., 49, Mareschal-street ..	0	10	6	Collected by Mrs. Kirby—			
<i>a</i> Miss Spence, 2, Castle Hill ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Col. Kirby, 15, Dee-street ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Simpson, 8, Golden-square.. ..	0	10	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Kirby, do. ..	0	5	0
<i>a</i> Miss Fraser, 252, Union-street	0	5	0	<i>a</i> James Gebbie, Esq., Netherfield House, Strathaven, Glasgow	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Duthie, 20, Albyn Place	0	10	0	<i>a</i> David Mitchell, Esq., 24, Adelphi	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Miss Farquharson, 18, Albert-street	0	5	0	<i>a</i> Stodart J. Mitchell, Esq., 24, Adelphi	0	2	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Macpherson, 25, Albert-street	0	10	0				
<i>a</i> Miss Thurburn, 3, Westfield-terrace	0	5	0				

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Collected by Miss Thompson—				aMrs. Cornelius Thompson, 17,			
aJohn Crombie, Esq., Balgow-				Albyn-place	0	10	6
nie Lodge	1	1	0	aMrs. John Crombie, Dane-			
aO. L. Stephen, Esq., 5, White-				stone	0	10	6
hall Yard, London, S.W. ..	1	1	0	aJames Rose, Esq., 5, Rubislaw-			
aGeo. Thompson, Esq., 5,				terrace	0	10	6
Golden-square	1	1	0	aWilliam Henderson, Esq.,			
aGeo. Thompson York, Esq.,				Devonah	0	10	6
Binghill	1	0	0	aAlexander Webster, Esq.,			
aTheo. Crombie, Esq., Goyal..	1	0	0	M.P., Edgehill	0	10	6
aMrs. Stephen Thompson, 30,				aMiss Beard	0	5	0
Hamilton-terrace, St. John's				aMiss Thompson, 5, Golden-			
Wood, London	0	10	6	square.. .. .	0	5	0
By cash							
					£24	3s.	6d.

BRIGHTON.

	£	s.	d.
Oct. 22.—By cash	11	1	0
Nov. 29.— „	2	2	0

(The List has been forwarded to the Secretary, but has been with some others mislaid. It will be published in April).

BOLTON.

Nov. 10.—By cash	£5	16s.	6d.
(List also mislaid).			

BIRMINGHAM.

Nov. 14.—By cash	£2	2s.	0d.
(List also mislaid).			

CHICHESTER LADIES' ASSOCIATION.

Nov. 26.—By cash	£3	14s.	6d.
(List also mislaid).			

CORK.

Nov. 25.—By cash	£10	10s	0d.
(List also mislaid).			

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CARDIFF.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1879 <i>a</i> Mr. William Lewis, Duke Street, Cardiff	0	10	6	1881 <i>a</i> G. F. Adams, Esq., Guildhall Chambers, Cardiff	0	10	6
1880 ditto ditto	0	10	6	1880 <i>a</i> T. Forster Brown, Esq., Grove House, Cardiff ..	0	10	6
1881 <i>a</i> John Morgan, Esq., 45, Parade, Cardiff	0	10	6	1881 ditto ditto	0	10	6
1881 <i>a</i> Robert Hooper, Esq., 14, Park Place, Cardiff ..	0	10	6	1880 <i>a</i> Mr. Robert Deane, Queen Street, Cardiff	0	10	6
1880 <i>a</i> Rev. J. A. H. Russell, St. John's Vicarage, Cardiff	0	10	6	1881 ditto ditto	0	10	6
1880 <i>a</i> Mr. Peter Price, Esq. Cwehberffron, Cardiff ..	0	10	6	1880 <i>a</i> Wm. Thomas Lewis, Esq., Mardy, Aberdare	1	1	0
1881 ditto ditto	0	10	6	1881 ditto ditto	1	1	0
1880 <i>a</i> G. F. Adams, Esq., Guildhall Chambers, Cardiff	0	10	6	1881 <i>a</i> Wm. Adams, Cambridge House, Park Place, Aberdare	1	1	0

CROYDON.

Oct. 3.—By cash	£	25	0	0
„ 17.— „	0	2	6	

(List also mislaid).

GLASGOW.

Nov. 3.—By cash	£12	9s.	2d.
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IRVINE.

Nov. 25.—By cash	£1	11s.	6d.
A. Gilmour	£0	10s.	6d.
Mrs. Alexander	£1	1s.	0d.

MANCHESTER.

Oct. 19.—By cash	£	10	0	6
Nov. 2.— „	4	14	0	
Nov. 22.— „	3	3	0	
Dec. 10.— „	11	1	0	

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> Rev. E. C. Hore	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. Canon Tonge	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. A. E. Robinson.. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Ven. Archdeacon Anson ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> J. F. Robinson, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Principal J. G. Greenwood ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> James Heelis, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Ven. Archdeacon Birch	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Herbert Birch, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. A. Howarth	0	10	6
<i>a</i> T. Chorlton, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> J. Krauss, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> J. A. Eastwood, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> J. R. Barlow, Esq.	0	10	6
<i>a</i> C. G. Rockwood, Esq.	0	10	6				

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aJ. Allsop, Esq... ..	1	1	0	aRev. J. J. Scott	0	10	6
aRev. T. H. Guest	0	10	6	aJoseph Rice, Esq.	1	1	0
aRichard Taylor, Esq... ..	1	1	0	aRev. H. D. Rawnsley.. ..	0	10	6
aJ. H. Montgomery, Esq..	1	1	0	aJ. B. Lee, Esq.	0	11	0
aF. H. Leedham, Esq... ..	1	1	0	aRev. H. A. Crosbie	1	1	0
aT. W. Freston, Esq.	1	1	0	aRev. J. W. Consterdine ..	0	10	6
vMiss Lowe	1	1	0	aJ. H. Grafton, Esq.	1	1	0
aMiss A. Lowe	1	1	0	aRev. A. McLaren, D.D. (1880,	2	2	0
aJoseph Yates, Esq.	1	1	0	1881)... ..	0	1	0
aRev. W. Laycock	0	10	6	Quarterly Statement			

SCARBOROUGH.

Oct. 28.—By cash £1 11s. 0d.
(List also mislaid).

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

Nov. 11.—By cash £2 2s. 0d.
(With list).

SYDNEY.

Oct. 25.—By cash	2	2	0
Nov. 20.— „	23	18	0
„ 25.— „]	2	0	0
Dec. 12.— „	3	3	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mrs. Allen	1	1	0	G. R. Harrison, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss Allen	1	1	0	Rev. F. Hibberd	1	1	0
John S. Adam, Esq.	1	1	0	Rev. Principal Kinross.. ..	1	1	0
Mrs. W. B. Boyce	1	1	0	Rev. John McGibbon, LL.D.	1	1	0
J. le Gay Brereton, M.D. ..	1	1	0	Rev. Henry Macready.. ..	1	1	0
Mrs. Barry	1	1	0	Mrs. Perdrian	1	1	0
Rev. A. Burdett	1	0	0	Joseph Paxton, Esq., J.P. ..	2	2	0
F. W. Castle, Esq.	1	1	0	Mrs. John Pope.. ..	1	0	0
James Cowrie, Esq.	1	1	0	W. E. Stevenson, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. J. Cameron	1	1	0	Rev. Colin Stewart, M.A. ..	1	1	0
The Very Rev. Dean Cowper ..	1	1	0	Rev. Dr. Steel	1	1	0
Mrs. Hugh Dixon	1	0	0	William Wright, Esq... ..	1	1	0
Mr. C. F. Garland	1	1	0	Per Secretary	2	0	0
Hon. L. D. Gordon, M.L.C. ..	2	0	0				

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

			REV. HENRY GEARY.		Proceeds.		
Place.			Date.		£	s.	d.
Bourne..	..	..	Sept. 29	..	7	11	0
Birmingham (3 Lectures)			Oct. 18, 19	..	38	10	11
Bury (Lancashire)	..		Oct. 20	..	12	12	0
Prestwich	..	..	" 21	..	4	14	0
Huntingdon	..	..	" 24	..	4	11	1
Sowerby	..	..	" 25	..	5	13	4
Elland (Normanton)	..		" 26	..	5	3	4
Leeds	..	..	" 27	..	5	8	4
Southport	..	..	" 28	..	7	10	6
Chelmsford (2 Lectures)			Nov. 10	..	13	9	3
Cheshunt College	..		" 18	..	9	18	0
Lichfield (2 Lectures)..			" 22	..	9	12	0
Gloucester	" 25	..	4	0	0
Winchester (2 Lectures)			Dec. 1	..	24	2	4
					<hr/>		
					152	16	1

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aMrs. Orlebar ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Ormerod ..	0	10	0
Carried forward	267	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	267	10	0
aRev. A. S. Ormerod ..	1	1	0
aRev. Prof. H. Osgood ..	0	10	6
aMr. Overton ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Paget ..	2	2	0
aRev. H. Palmer ..	1	1	0
aMr. Parker ..	1	0	0
aC. Eyre Parker, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aG. Parkinson, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aMrs. Pattenson ..	0	10	6
aMiss Peard ..	1	1	0
aMiss Petit ..	1	1	0
aPaisley Philosophical Institute	1	1	0
aJ. H. Plowes, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aT. Prince, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. H. Proby ..	1	1	0
aRev. J. E. Pryor ..	1	1	0
aMajor General Puckle ..	0	10	6
aG. Lowe Reed, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aMiss W. R. Reeves ..	0	10	0
aMrs. C. Richardson ..	0	5	0
aRev. T. Rigaud ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Ring ..	1	0	0
" " " Donation	1	0	0
aW. J. Nisbet Robertson, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. C. Robinson ..	0	10	0
aDr. Rogers ..	1	0	0
aMrs. Rogers ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. P. Rorison ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. A. Rouse ..	0	12	6
aD. J. Rowan, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Rosecoe ..	1	1	0
aMajor Russel ..	2	0	0
aRev. R. D. Rutherford ..	0	10	6
aRev. W. Sanday ..	1	1	0
aJoseph B. Salter, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aSec. of Society for Promotion of Christianity among the Jews ..	0	10	6
aRev. Halsall Segar ..	1	1	0
aThe Misses Scott ..	1	1	0
aMiss E. Secretarr ..	0	10	6
aArthur Smith, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aCol. Smyth, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRobert Snape, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aProf. Socin ..	0	10	6
Spring Hill School ..	2	0	0
aW. Standerling, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aJ. Stevenson, Esq. ..	8	0	0
aJ. A. Stewart, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aJ. H. Stillwell, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aH. Stokes, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aMiss Susan Strutt ..	1	0	0
aRev. R. A. H. Stroud ..	0	10	0
aC. E. Suart, Esq. ..	1	1	0
Carried forward	325	1	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	325	1	0	Brought forward	355	10	0
aRev. G. Studdert ..	1	1	0	aWilson Waterfall, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aMiss Sutherland ..	0	10	6	aMiss Calclough Watson ..	0	10	0
aM. S. Tait, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aJohn Watson ..	0	10	6
aJ. W. Taylor ..	1	0	0	aG. F. Watts ..	1	1	0
aMiss Taylor ..	1	1	0	aJ. W. Wayman ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Taylor ..	0	10	6	aMiss Weston ..	0	10	0
aMrs. Taylor ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Welland..	1	0	0
aJ. D. Thomas, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aN. C. White, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aArcher Thompson, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. J. Whitehead ..	1	1	0
aMrs. J. R. Thompson ..	1	0	0	aSir R. Wilbraham, K.C.B. ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Todd ..	0	10	6	aC. S. Wilkinson, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aJohn Tod, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aMrs. E. J. Wilkinson ..	0	10	6
aJ. A. Trench, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aMiss Williams ..	1	1	0
aFrederick J. Trippe, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aCharles Wilson, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aF. F. Tuckett, Esq. ..	2	1	0	aRev. E. Wilson ..	0	10	6
aMrs. C. Tufnell ..	0	10	6	aRev. David Winter, M.A. ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Wyndham Tufnell ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Woodruff ..	1	1	0
aRev. Twiss Turner ..	2	2	0	aRev. G. O. Wray ..	1	1	0
aUnion Theological Seminary..	0	10	6	aRev. W. H. Wright ..	0	10	6
Rev. J. T. Vaughan ..	0	2	6	aB. P. Wright, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aDr. Vaughan ..	1	1	0	aRev. F. M. Wyndham ..	1	1	0
aA. W. Vickers, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aMiss Yates ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. H. Walford ..	10	0	0	aMrs. Baring Young ..	1	1	0
aMiss Walker ..	0	10	6	aMiss M. C. Young ..	0	5	0
aRev. J. I. Nisbet Wallace ..	1	1	0				
Carried forward	355	10	0	Total ..	375	11	6

PER COUTTS' BANK.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
				Brought forward	32	4	6
aJ. Tufnell, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. S. F. Hawtrey ..	2	2	0
aRev. F. Hort ..	2	2	0	aMrs. E. Holland ..	0	10	0
aMrs. C. Drummond ..	1	1	0	aT. Noble, Esq. ..	2	0	0
aCapt. Drummond ..	1	0	0	aL. E. Scarth, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aE. A. Drummond, Esq. ..	2	2	0	aLt. Guide ..	1	0	0
aRev. F. E. Wigram ..	5	5	0	aRev. M. T. Farrer ..	5	0	0
aD. W. Freshfield, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aS. Harrison, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aRev. R. W. Church ..	1	0	0	aA. Cater, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aMrs. Corsbie ..	3	3	0	aMiss Peckover ..	0	10	0
aRev. W. Stacey ..	1	1	0	aJ. Peckover, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aH. Morris, Esq. ..	1	0	0	aA. Peckover, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aThe Right Rev. the Bishop of				aW. D. Young, Esq. ..	1	1	0
Moray and Ross ..	1	1	0	aRev. F. Ohlson ..	0	10	6
aMiss Baynon ..	0	10	6	aRev. A. Carr ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. J. Stracey ..	1	1	0	aRev. G. T. Pelcher ..	2	2	0
aJ. C. Courthope, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aW. H. Rylands, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aF. Kirkpatrick, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. G. H. Mullins ..	1	1	0
aMiss Everard ..	1	1	0	aRev. J. T. Fowler ..	1	1	0
aBishop of Dover ..	1	1	0	aT. J. Walton, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aLady Lowe ..	1	0	0	aA. F. Buxton, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Camidge ..	0	10	0	aRev. S. Ladds ..	1	1	0
aJ. Richards, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. W. Inge ..	1	1	0
aD. W. Newman, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aMajor-Gen. Cooke ..	1	0	0
aMr. Birkbeck ..	1	1	0	aH. H. Kitchener, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aHenry Peto, Esq. ..	2	0	0				
Carried forward	32	4	6	Total ..	63	13	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

PER UNION BANK.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aE. M. Parker, Esq.	1	1	0	Brought forward	5	4	0
aRev. Canon Pearson	1	0	0	aR. Taylor, Esq.	1	1	0
aW. H. Leighton, Esq.	2	2	0	aJ. E. Blockestone, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. A. Taylor	0	10	6	aG. D. W. Digby, Esq.	2	10	0
aHon. Mrs. Paley	0	10	6	aH. F. Pease, Esq.	1	1	0
Carried forward	5	4	0	Total ..	10	17	0

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

Acknowledged in detail under special heading.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Aberdeen	13	12	6	Brought forward	114	12	0
Alloa	5	5	6	Dunfermline	9	4	0
Anstruther	3	15	8	Edinburgh	92	16	10
Ayr	2	16	8	Glasgow	44	11	9
Belfast	3	13	6	Ipswich	5	13	6
Bishops Waltham	2	2	0	Leeds	25	0	0
Brighton	21	9	2	Leith	5	3	6
Bristol	8	11	0	Manchester	31	16	2
Burnley	1	11	0	Norwich	1	1	0
Cambridge	27	18	6	Ryde	4	0	0
Chelmsford	1	16	6	Weston-super-Mare	3	1	6
Cheltenham	22	0	0	Winchester	2	12	0
Carried forward	114	12	0	Total ..	339	12	3

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions and donations	375	11	6
Do., per Coutts' Bank	63	13	0
Do., per Union Bank	10	17	0
Local Societies	339	12	3
From other sources	208	12	9
Total	998	6	6

ABERDEEN LADIES' ASSOCIATION.

By Cash £13 12s. 6d.
1881.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aMr. and Miss Gordon, 35, Albyn-place	0	5	0	aP. Esslemont, Esq., 34, Albyn-place	0	10	6
aRev. John Calder, New Manse, Old Aberdeen	0	10	0	aGeo. Jamieson, Esq., 39, Albyn-place	0	10	6
1882.				aMrs. Yeats of Auquharney	1	1	0
aThe Misses Millar, 156, Crown-street	0	10	0	aMr. and Mrs. Murray, "Black Neuk," Balgownie	0	10	6
aMrs Hargrave, Canada	0	10	6	aWm. Smart, Esq., 1, Lang-stane-place	0	10	6
aRev. John Davidson, D.D., Manse, Inverurie	0	10	0	aWm. Stephenson, M.D., 261, Union-street	0	10	6
aMiss Scott, Ruthrieston Lodge	0	5	0	aJ. W. F. Smith Shand, M.D., Union-street	0	10	6
aMrs. Ogilvie Forbes of Boyndlie	0	5	0	aRobert Smith, Esq., of Glenmillan	0	10	6
aDr. D. and Mrs. Dyce Davidson, 224, Union-street	0	15	0				

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

ABERDEEN LADIES' ASSOCIATION—continued.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aAlex. Cochran, Esq., 152, Union-street	0	5	0	aRev. J. Mitford Mitchell, 14, Albyn-terrace	0	5	0
aR. B. Horne, Esq., 31, Adelphi	0	10	0	aJas. Chalmers, Esq., West- burn	0	10	6
aDavid Easton, Esq., Union Bank	0	5	0	aDavid Stewart, Esq., 259, Union-street	1	0	0
aJames Aiken, Esq., Jun., 37, Union-place	0	5	0	aMiss Mary Forbes, 9, Mackie- place	0	10	0
Rev. J. A. Macdymont, 4, Albert-street	0	10	6	aP. S., per Mary Forbes	0	10	0
aMrs. Parr, 12, Carden-place ..	0	5	0				
aW. J. Murray Garden, Esq., Maryfield	0	10	6		14	2	0
aF. Agston, M.D., Albyn- terrace	0	10	6	Collector's Fee	0	9	6
					13	12	6

ALLOA.

March 1, 1882.—By Cash £5 5s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rev. Alexander Bryson	0	10	6	A. Monteath, Esq.	0	10	6
Thomas Brydie, Esq.	0	5	0	Rev. Daniel McLean	0	10	6
John Duncan, Esq.	0	10	6	A. Forrester Paton, Esq.	0	18	0
Rev. J. W. Harper	0	10	6	Robert Proctor, Esq.	0	10	6
A. Moir, Esq.	0	10	6	David Paton, Esq.	0	10	6

ANSTRUTHER.

Dec. 19, 1881.—By Cash £3 15s. 8d.

	£	s.	d.
Receipts at Lecture	3	0	6
W. B. Mackintosh	0	10	6
William Murray	0	10	6
John Martin	0	10	6

AYR.

	£	s.	d.
Miss Aytoun	0	10	0
D. Currie	0	5	0
John Flint	0	10	6
Campbell Douglas	0	10	6
R. D. Murdoch	1	1	0
	2	17	0
Less for P.O.O.	0	0	4
Balance remitted	2	16	8

BELFAST.

March 10, 1882.—By Cash £3 13s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.
The President, Queen's College	2	2	0
Rev. Thomas Hamilton	0	10	6
Francis D. Ward, Esq.	0	10	6
W. F. C. S. Corry, Esq.	0	10	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

BISHOPS WALTHAM.

March 8, 1882.—By Cash						£2	2s.	0d.
						£	s.	d.
Rev. A. B. Burton .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. H. R. Fleming .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. W. E. Medhott .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
James Padbury, Esq... .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

Omitted in January "Statement."

BOLTON.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Rev. G. C. Coe, F.R.G.S. ..	..	0	10	6		Miss Hampson .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0
Mrs. Conway .. .. .	..	0	5	0		Rev. W. F. S. Maynard, B.A... ..	..	..	0	10	6
F. T. Constantine, Esq. ..	..	0	10	6		" " Donation .. .. .	..	..	1	11	6
Rev. W. Elton, M.A. .. ..	..	0	10	6		George Monk, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	0	10	6
Major Fell .. .. .	..	1	0	0		Mr. Thomas Stubbs .. .. .	..	..	0	10	6
Mrs. Green .. .. .	..	1	1	0		Rev. W. S. Whyte .. .. .	..	..	0	10	6
T. W. Heeles, Esq. .. .. .	..	0	10	6							

BOLTON.

						£	s.	d.
A. S. Pennington .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. W. Maynard .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0
Mr. Stubbs .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0

BRIGHTON.

						£	s.	d.
Oct. 22, 1881.—By Cash .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	11	1	0
Nov. 22 " do. .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	0

			£	s.	d.
Madlle. de Paris .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
Miss Ridding .. .. .	..	..	5	0	0
Miss M. Ridding .. .. .	..	..	5	0	0
Miss Carr .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
Miss Cobham .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0

						£	s.	d.
Dec. 20, 1881.—By Cash .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	5	10	2
Jan. 23, 1882. " .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	13	17	0
March 15, 1882. " .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	0

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
J. N. Winter, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0	Mrs. Soames (1881) .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0
Somers Clarke, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0	Rev. D. Robertson .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. Thomas Moseley .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0	Rev. C. E. Douglas .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
W. Turnbull, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0	Miss Bovil .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
Miss Cruso .. .. .	..	..	0	10	6	H. Hebbert, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. T. Hill .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0	H. C. Malden, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0
Miss S. A. Borrer .. .. .	..	..	10	0	0						

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

BURNLEY.

Feb. 18—By cash..	..	..	..	..	£1 11s.			
					£	s.	d.	
John Butterworth, Esq.	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Mr. John Bowman Shipley	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Alfred Strange, Esq. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

CLIFTON AND BRISTOL ASSOCIATION.

Jan. 6, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	£8 11s.			
					£	s.	d.	
Miss Russell .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
W. F. Lavington, Esq...	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. C. H. Wallace ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Lady Mackworth ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
Mrs. H. Mackworth ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
Miss Moor .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
E. W. Bird .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	6
T. Howard, Esq. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Thomas Pease, Esq. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
The Misses Mills ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
The Misses Windsor Richards.	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. T. H. Clarke ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
Rev. Canon Mather ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
Miss Ware .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
Miss Notley .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	6

CHELMSFORD.

Feb. 22, 1882.—By Cash ..	..	..	..	..	£1 16s. 6d.			
					£	s.	d.	
Mrs. Straight .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
W. Codd, Esq. .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Mrs. Mack .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

CHELTHENHAM.

Jan. 11, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	£22.			
					£	s.	d.	
Rev. R. J. Lancaster ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Baron de Ferrieres ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Miss Birchall .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
J. Bedwell, Esq. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Mrs. Litton .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
J. Middleton, Esq. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Mrs. Wakefield ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Miss Robinson ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
General Polwhele ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Miss Ward .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
C. Dobell, Esq... ..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	0
Rev. E. Chamney ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. W. Hutchinson ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
T. Walker, Esq. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. T. Finn .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. F. Poynder ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
W. H. Gwynnett, E-q.	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. Canon Bell ..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Right Hon. Earl Ducie	..	..	..	..	..	5	0	0
Dr. E. T. Wilon ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Miss Stokes .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Rev. Dr. McCulloch ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CORK.

Omitted in January Statement.

By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	..	£10 10s.			
			£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
The O'Donovan..	..	..	2	0	0	Henry S. Perry, Esq., Hon. Sec.	..	1	0	0
Rev. Horace T. Fleming	..	..	0	10	0	Captain Perry ..	..	0	10	0
Mrs. Hunt ..	..	..	1	0	0	J. Seymour Romilly, Esq.	..	0	10	0
Miss A. Hunt ..	..	..	1	0	0	Miss Reeves ..	..	1	0	0
Miss N. Hunt ..	..	..	1	0	0	Miss Perry Sheares ..	..	1	0	0
Mr. Pigott ..	..	..	1	0	0					

CROYDON.

Omitted in January "Statement."

By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	..	£25 2s. 6d.			
			£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Stephenson Clarke, Esq.	..	..	5	0	0	W. Mells, Esq. ..	..	0	10	6
Rev. T. L. Causton	..	..	1	1	0	John Moser, Esq.	..	1	1	0
J. G. Cowan, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0	E. P. Sells, Esq.	..	2	2	0
W. Cash, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	6	Henry Thompson, Esq.	..	2	0	0
George Duncan, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0	F. Ranger, Esq.	..	5	0	0
Mrs. W. Janson	..	..	2	2	0	C. Wolston, Esq., M.D.	..	0	10	6
J. W. Janson, Esq.	..	..	2	2	0	F. A. White, Esq.	..	1	1	0

DUNFERMLINE.

By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	..	£9 4s.			
			£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Thomas Alexander, Esq.	..	..	1	0	0	James McFarlane, Esq.	..	0	10	6
George Birrell, Esq.	..	..	0	10	6	Messrs. W. and J. McLaren	..	0	10	6
Rev. James Brown, Lochgelly..	..	..	0	5	0	Rev. A. Mitchell, D.D.	..	0	2	6
Rev. J. G. Crawford, Line-	..	..	0	2	6	William Reid, Esq.	..	0	5	0
kilns ..	..	..	0	2	6	John Ross, Esq.	..	0	10	6
John Duncanson, Esq...	..	..	0	5	0	Rev. J. M. Shiach	..	0	5	0
William Glass, Esq.	..	..	0	5	0	Patrick F. Soutar, Esq.	..	0	10	6
Rev. A. Graham, Crossgates	..	..	0	5	0	Robert Stevenson, Esq., Town-	..	0	10	6
William Inglis, Esq.	..	..	0	10	6	hill ..	..	0	10	6
Daniel Lamond, Esq.	..	..	0	5	0	Andrew Wallace, Esq...	..	1	0	0
John Landale, Esq.	..	..	1	0	0	Provost Walls...	..	0	10	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

EDINBURGH.

Subscriptions received during the year 1881.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Professor Johnstone, 19, Hope- terrace	1	0	0	Brought forward	28	19	6
Rev. Dr. Stevenson, Oxford- terrace	0	10	0	Geo. F. Barbour of Bonskeid, 11, George-square	3	0	0
W. F. Burnley, 24, Ainslie-place	1	0	0	James Sime, Craigmount	1	1	0
John Hoyes, 7, Ainslie-place	2	0	0	Robert Rainy, D.D., 23, Douglas- crescent	0	10	0
Mrs. Hoyes, 7, Ainslie-place	1	0	0	M.A.H.C.	0	5	0
Mrs. Mill, 35, Howe-street	1	0	0	Misses Stevenson, 13, Randolph- crescent	1	0	0
Mrs. Gallaway, 58, Gt. King- street	1	0	0	Mr. Stalker, 6, W. Claremont- street	0	10	6
Alexander Hamilton, 35, Queen- street	1	1	0	Rev. Thomas Brown, 16, Carlton- street	1	1	0
Mrs. Arch. Stewart, 10, Ettrick- road	0	10	6	Miss E. Clayton, 28, Rutland- square	0	10	0
Sir Robert Christison, Bart, 40, Moray-place	2	2	0	T. B. Johnson, Edina Works, Easter-road	1	1	0
John Kennedy, 71, Gt. King- street	1	0	0	Rev. D. F. Sandford, 6, Rutland- square	0	10	0
W. Leckie, Carlton-terrace ..	1	0	0	Miss Hunter, 5, Gt. Stuart- street	0	10	0
Rev. W. Turner, 5, St. Andrew- square	0	10	6	E. J. Johnston, Milton, Pit- lochry	0	10	0
J. T. Black, 6, North-bridge ..	0	10	6	E. F. Johnston, Milton, Pit- lochry	0	10	0
J. J. Rogerson, Merchiston Castle	1	0	0	E. Jarratt	1	0	0
John Watson, 2, Oswald-road	1	1	0	Mrs. H. Glassford Bell and Miss Sandeman, 1, Douglas- crescent	1	0	0
Findlay Anderson, Inchyra Grange, Polmont	1	0	0	Misses Mure, 10, Darnaway- street	0	10	0
Robert Gibson, 9, Bruntsfield- place	0	10	0	Mrs. Hendley Kirkwood, North- end House, Trinity-road	0	10	0
Miss McMicking, 11, Manor- place	1	1	0	Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, 63, Northumberland-street	0	5	0
David J. Macfie, Borthwick Hall, Heriot	2	0	0	John R. Norrie, 8, Hope Park- square	0	10	6
Major G. Agnew, 2, Wodehouse- terrace, Dublin	1	1	0	H. Davidson, Muirhouse, David- son's Mains	0	10	0
Mrs. Mackintosh, 19, Chalmers- street	0	10	0	Rev. Ralph Smith, Glasgow, for 1881, 1882, and 1883	5	0	0
Adam Skirving, Croys, Dal- beattie	1	0	0	John R. Howden, 29, Merchis- ton-avenue	1	1	0
Miss Black, c/o James Black, Auchentasham House, Dun- tocher	1	0	0	William Dickson, 38, York-place	1	1	0
Rev. Alex. Luke, Free Church, Broxburn	1	0	0	Professor Douglas MacLagan, 28, Heriot-row	1	1	0
Misses Gall, 17, Minto-street	0	2	6	Miss Mackenzie, 16, Moray-place	1	0	0
J. T. Brown, Gibraltar House	1	1	0	Mrs. Brown Douglas, Moray- place	0	10	0
Patrick Guthrie	0	5	0	Mrs. and Miss Paterson, 3, Coates-crescent	0	10	0
Miss Crooks, 37, Manor-place ..	1	0	0				
Edward Caird, 15, Belgrave- crescent	1	1	0				
A Friend, 7, Albany-street	0	2	6				
Carried forward	28	19	6	Carried forward	54	6	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	54	6	6
William Lyon, 51, George-street	1	0	0
Professor A. R. Simpson, 52, Queen-street	1	1	0
Miss Falconar, Falconhall ..	1	0	0
Scott Brothers, 125, Princes-street	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Whyte, 52, Melville-street	1	1	0
David Jeffrey, 14, Randolph-crescent	1	0	0
Dr. Moir, 52, Castle-street ..	1	0	0
Mrs. Maitland, 9, Walker-street	0	5	0
John Turnbull, 58, Frederick-street	1	0	0
Rev. W. Turner, 5, St. Andrew-square	0	10	6
Andrew Usher and Co., W. Nicolson-street	0	10	6
J. A. Jamieson, 14, Buckingham-terrace	0	10	0
Mrs. Edmond, 21, Comely Bank	0	5	0
J. Anderson Henry, Hay Lodge, Trinity	0	10	0
James Sime, Craigmont ..	1	0	0
Charles J. Inglis, 12, Dick-place	0	10	6
Rev. Dr. Teape, 15, Findham-place	0	10	0
Rev. Dr. Simpson, F. C. Manse, Laurencekirke	0	10	6
Peter Mill, 39, North-bridge ..	1	0	0
Union Hall Religious Mutual Improvement Association, per Peter Mill	0	10	6
Mrs. Seton, St. Bennet's ..	0	5	0
Miss Mouat, The Grange House	0	10	0
Rev. Dr. Blaikie, 19, Palmerston-road	0	5	0
Thomas Nelson and Sons, Park-side	1	0	0
The Chisholm, March Hall ..	1	0	0
Rev. N. Wight, 47, Lander-road	0	2	6
Miss Macmillan, 7, Pingal-place	0	2	6
J. R. Stewart, 10, Salisbury-road	0	15	0
Mrs. Hunter, 18, Abercromby-place	0	2	6
Professor A. H. Charters, 4, Greenhill-gardens	0	10	6
John Scott Moncrieff, 19, Lynedoch-place	0	10	0
John Drybrough, 15, Coates-crescent	0	10	6
James Stewart, W.S., 8, Dame-terrace	0	5	0
Rev. J. C. Macphail, Pilrig Manse	0	5	0
Carried forward	74	9	6

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	74	9	6
James Carnagie, 16, Windsor-street	0	5	0
James T. Wilson, Restalrig ..	0	10	0
J. M. Balfour, Pilrig House ..	0	10	6
J. H. Wilson, 1, E. Castle-road	0	5	0
Alexander Paton, 2, Drummond-place	0	5	0
J. H. Balfour, Inverleith House	0	10	0
J. Anderson Henry, Hay Lodge	0	10	0
R. Mackay Smith, 4, Bellevue-crescent	1	1	0
J. Smith, Herriot-hill House ..	0	10	0
R. Younger, St. Ann's Brewery	0	10	6
Dean Montgomery, 17 Atholl's-crescent	0	5	0
Mrs. Good, 11, Clarendon-crescent	0	5	0
Alexander Podon, 5, Hart-street	0	10	0
John Macnair, 33, Moray-place	0	10	0
W. J. Duncan, 29, Abercromby-place	1	1	0
J. G. Murray, 11, Randolph-crescent	1	0	0
J. C. C., Edinburgh	6	0	0
Sir James Falslam, Bart, 14, Belgrave-crescent	1	1	0
Mrs. Morison, 12, Randolph-crescent	1	0	0
Horatius Bonnar, W.S., 15, Hill-street	0	10	6
David S. Dickson, W.S., 1, Thistle-court	0	10	6
J. Miller of Leithen, 2, Melville-crescent	1	1	0
J. M. McCandlish, 27, Drums-bergh-gardens	2	0	0
G. F. Barbour of Bonskeid, 11, George-square	5	0	0
John Kennedy, 71, Gt. King-street	1	0	0
Charles Sidey, 21, Chester-street	0	5	0
The Bishop of Edinburgh ..	5	0	0
Miss Buchanan, 18, Lansdowne-crescent	0	2	6
Mrs. Meek, 21, Rutland-square	0	2	6
Thomas A. G. Balfour, M.D., 51, George-square	0	5	0
William Robson, 8, George-street	0	5	0
Mrs. Colonel MacDougall, Woodburn, Canaan-lane ..	1	1	0
Miss Ker, 12, Church-hill ..	0	10	0
	108	11	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Omitted in July "Statement."

FROME.

By Cash £15 12s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
F. C. Cockey, Esq.	5	0	0	P. Le Gros, Esq.	1	1	0
H. Cockey, Esq.	0	10	6	Mr. J. Parsons	0	2	6
G. A. Daniel, Esq.	0	10	6	Miss Sewell	0	10	6
Rev. W. E. Daniel	0	10	6	John Tanner, Esq., Junr. ..	1	1	0
E. Flatman, Esq.	0	10	6	H. Tompson	0	10	6
T. Green, Esq.	1	1	0	Miss Thompson	0	10	6
T. H. Hobroyd, Esq.	1	1	0	W. Tonkin, Esq.	0	10	6
Rev. J. Horton	0	10	6	J. W. D. T. Wickham, Esq. ..	0	10	6
H. Houston, Esq.	0	10	6	F. D. Wickham, Esq.	0	10	6

GLASGOW.

Jan. 31, 1882.—By Cash £44 11s. 9d.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
James Mitchell, Esq., LL.D. ..	2	2	0	Robert Kettle and Co.	1	1	0
Alex. B. McGregor, Esq., LL.D.	3	3	0	Messrs Stewart and McDonald	2	2	0
Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D.	1	1	0	Arch Crombie, Esq.	1	1	0
Messrs. William Graham and Co.	2	2	0	Rev. J. Grierson Scott	1	1	0
J. H. Kerr, Esq.	1	1	0	The Very Rev. Principal Caird,			
Messrs. J. and W. Campbell and				D.D.	1	1	0
Co.	2	2	0	The Rev. James Robertson, D.D.	1	1	0
Messrs. James Finlay and Co.	3	3	0	The Rev. William Lee, D.D. ..	1	1	0
Messrs. George Smith and Sons	2	0	0	J. Wyllie Guild, Esq.	1	1	0
William Sloan, Esq.	1	1	0	Sir William Collins, Kt.	1	1	0
James Macleod, Esq.	1	1	0	J. W. Cuthbertson, Esq.	1	1	0
Messrs. Wylie and Lochhead ..	1	1	0	W. H. Minnock, Esq.	1	1	0
Andrew Mitchell, Esq.	1	1	0	William Govan, Esq.	2	2	0
Anderson Kirkwood, Esq.,				Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D. ..	1	0	0
LL.D.	1	1	0	Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D. ..	2	2	0
James Salmon, Esq.	1	1	0	James McCall, Esq.	1	1	0
Robert Blackie, Esq.	1	1	0	Sir James Watson Kt.	2	2	0
James S. Napier, Esq.	5	0	0	Rev. A. Melville	1	0	0

Particulars Omitted in last "Quarterly Statement."

GLASGOW.

	£	s.	d.
Jan. 13, 1879, G. C. M. Douglas, Esq.	1	1	0
Feb. 9 " Andrew Melville, Esq.	1	0	0
Apr. 4 " M. S. Tait, Esq.	0	10	0
Jan. 16, 1880, M. S. Tait, Esq.	0	10	0
" 23 " G. C. M. Douglas, Esq.	1	1	0
Feb. 11 " Andrew Melville, Esq.	1	0	0
Jan. 3, 1881, G. C. M. Douglas, Esq.	1	1	0
Feb. 8 " Andrew Melville, Esq.	1	0	0
June 16 " Rev. Prof. Dickson, D.D.	2	2	0
" " A. B. McGregor, Esq.	3	3	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

IPSWICH.

Feb. 24, 1882.—By Cash £5 13s. 6d.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Brightwell Binyon, Esq.	..	1	1	0	W. Brown Esq...	..	1	0	0
F. C. Cobbold, Esq.	..	1	1	0	Rev. T. H. Turnock	..	0	10	6
Rev. Canon Garratt	..	1	1	0	R. Miller	..	1	0	0

Particulars omitted in last July "Statement."

LEDBURY.

By Cash £4 14s. 6d.

							£.	s.	d.
Miss A. A. Davies	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	0
Rev. G. H. Kirwood	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. S. Thackwell	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
Rev. O. M. Ridley	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

LEEDS ASSOCIATION.

1882.—By Cash £25 0 0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Atkinson, Rev. A., Audlem, Cheshire	1	0	0	Hayes, Rev. W. A., The Rectory, Dromore, County Down, Ireland	1	0	0
Atkinson, J. W., Esq., Ilkley ..	1	1	0	Heaton, Miss, Woodhouse-square	0	10	6
Baines, Sir Ed.	1	1	0	Hey, Rev. J., Clifton Lawn, York	1	1	0
Baines, F., Esq., Westwood ..	1	1	0	Holmes, J., Esq., Roundhay ..	0	10	6
Baxter, W., Esq., 13, Lyddon- terrace	0	10	6	Jepson, E. G., Esq., Springfield Mount	1	1	0
Bilbrough, J. B., Esq., Beech- grove-terrace	1	1	0	Jowitt, J., Esq., Harehills ..	1	1	0
Birchall, Mrs., Whiteholme, Clitheroe	1	1	0	Lowther, Sir C. H., Bart., Swil- lington House	2	2	0
Birchall, Ed., Esq., Park-place	1	1	0	Mauds, Miss, Knowltherpe ..	1	0	0
Byles, Rev. A. H., Headingley	0	10	6	Nelson, H., Esq., St. John's Cottage	1	1	0
Conder, Rev. E. R., Newton- grove	1	1	0	Ryder, C., Esq., Chapel-town ..	1	1	0
Cornthwaite, Right Rev. Bishop, Springfield House	1	1	0	Rooke, Rev. T. G., Rawdon College	2	2	0
Crawford, Mrs., Blenheim-ter- race	1	1	0	Scatcherd, Miss, East Keswick	0	10	6
Dalton, Ed., Esq., 20, Vernon- road	1	1	0	Taylor, T. E., Esq., Dodworth Hall, Barnsley	1	1	0
Embleton, T. W., Esq., Methley	1	1	0	Tweedale, Mrs., Kingston-ter- race	1	1	0
Ferguson, W., Esq., 31, Albion- street	0	10	6	Willans, J. W., Esq., Heading- ley-terrace	0	10	6
Good, T. G., Esq., 12, South- parade, Nottingham	1	1	0	Wood, Rev. F. J., Headingley Vicarage	1	1	0
Harris, Miss, Oxtou Hall, Tad- caster	1	1	0				
Harvey, T., Esq., Ashwood, Headingley	1	1	0				

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LEITH.

Jan. 10., 1882.—By cash £5 3s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mr. James Wishart	0	10	0	Provost Pringle	0	10	6
Mr. W. Wishart	0	5	0	Messrs. Jas. Currie & Co. ..	1	1	0
Miss Airth	0	3	0	Messrs. George Gibson & Co.	0	10	0
Messrs Braidwood & Fowler..	1	1	0	Messrs. D. T. Thomson & Co.	0	5	0
Rev. D. Thorburn	0	5	0	Rev. G. Jackson	0	5	0
Dr. Henderson	0	5	0				

MANCHESTER.

1881.

Dec. 31,—By Cash £ 1 11 6

1882.

Feb. 3,—By Cash 14 17 0

„ 21, „ „ 5 0 0

Mar. 11, „ Cheque 5 9 2

„ 13,—By Cash 4 18 6

£30 16 2

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
a F. W. Grafton, Esq., M.P. ..	2	2	0	a Rev. W. J. Smith	0	10 6
a James Barlow, Esq.	1	1	0	J. Jackson, Esq.	0	10 6
a J. R. Barlow, Esq.	1	1	0	a C. P. Allen, Esq.	1	1 0
a John Lowe, Esq.	1	1	0	a R. W. Barnes, Esq.	0	10 6
a John Robinson, Esq... ..	2	2	0	a G. Gauthorp, Esq.	0	10 6
a Mrs. Cruso	1	1	0	a Edward Hardeastle, Esq..	1	1 0
J. Challinor, Esq.	1	0	0	a Miss Sharp	0	10 6
a Walter Bellhouse, Esq. ..	1	1	0	a „ J. E. Sharp	0	10 6
a Ernest Bellhouse, Esq. ..	1	1	0	a H. Calvert, Esq.	0	10 6
a G. Robinson, Esq.	1	1	0	a Rev. J. Chippendale	1	1 0
a G. H. Goldsmith, Esq. ..	1	1	0	a Rev. Canon Stowell	0	10 6
a W. Slater, Esq.	1	1	0	a James Parlanc, Esq. (2 years)	2	2 0
a J. O. Andrew, Esq.	1	1	0	a Oliver Heywood, Esq. ..	2	2 0
a Rev. W. F. Birch	1	1	0	Meeting 1881, balance ..	0	14 8
a Thomas Rymer, Esq... ..	1	1	0	Three Quarterly Statements..	0	3 0

NORWICH.

Dec. 16., 1881.—By Cash £1 1s.

	£	s.	d.
Charles Dix, Esq.	0	10	6
Rev. J. W. Cobb	0	10	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

RYDE.

Mar. 15.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	..	£1 1s.
	£	s.	d.				£ s. d.
The Rev. Alex. Poole, Vicar ..	0	10	0	}	Miss M. J. Gillson, Barsby	..	0 10 0
General and Mrs. Carr Tate, St.					Lodge, Ryde ..	..	0 10 0
John's House ..	2	0	0		E. Knocker, F.S.A. ..	..	1 1 0

WINCHESTER.

Feb. 7, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	£2 12s.
	£	s.	d.			
Mrs. Harden ..	0	10	0			
Mrs. Walsh ..	1	1	0			
Miss Cornford..	0	10	6			
Rev. Du Boulay Hill..	0	10	6			

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YORK : Mr. William Sessions.

LIST OF DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

MARCH 15TH, 1882, TO JUNE 15TH, 1882.

a denotes Annual Subscriber.

* If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> J. S. Ainsworth, Esq. ..	0	10	6	Brought forward	37	10	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Alleard	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. Canon Brownlow ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Allen	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. J. G. Burton	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Hon. G. W. Allen	1	0	0	<i>a</i> W. Butler, Esq.	0	5	0
<i>a</i> S. Allport, Esq.	0	5	0	<i>a</i> W. C.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Captain Anderson	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. H. S. Callender ..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Archard	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. J. H. Carr	0	10	0
<i>a</i> R. Ashby, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Alex. Carson, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Boston Athenæum	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Miss Cash (additional) ..	0	3	6
<i>a</i> Major-General Aylmer ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. Caudwell, Esq.	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Balfour-Kinnear ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. G. Chester	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. C. Bannatyne	2	2	0	<i>a</i> J. C. Church, Esq. (1881-82) ..	2	2	0
<i>a</i> T. S. Barker, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> W. F. Church, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss Barlow	2	2	0	<i>a</i> The Rev. Master of Clare ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> J. Bartholomew, Esq. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. Fenn Clark, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. J. A. Bastow	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. C. P. Clarke	1	1	0
<i>a</i> R. Bealey, Esq.	1	0	0	<i>a</i> M. Clarkson, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Charles Beard, Esq.	0	12	0	<i>a</i> Rev. W. F. Clarkson ..	0	5	0
<i>a</i> Miss Beaufort.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Miss Clay	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. T. O. Beeman	0	10	6	<i>a</i> J. F. Cobb, Esq. (1881-82) ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> W. H. Beeman, Esq. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. T. B. Coulson (1881-82)	2	2	0
<i>a</i> J. Berry, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Gen. Sir John Cowell, K.C.B.	5	0	0
<i>a</i> E. Beveridge, Esq.	2	0	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Crawford	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. W. C. Bishop	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Alfred Creswell, Esq. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Blackett	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mrs. Crowdsen	1	1	0
<i>a</i> E. R. Blackett, Esq., M.D. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> J. Cudworth, Esq. (1881-82)	2	2	0
<i>a</i> J. S. Blackett, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> R. P. Cuff, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. R. Blackett, M.A. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> T. H. Dalzell, Esq. (donation)	5	0	0
<i>a</i> R. Blair, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> The Dartmouth College ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. A. C. Blunt	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. C. H. Davis	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. J. J. Bonar	1	0	0	<i>a</i> E. B. Dawson, Esq. (1879-82)	4	4	0
<i>a</i> James Bonar, Esq.	0	10	0	<i>a</i> G. W. De Norman, Esq. (don.)	10	0	0
<i>a</i> John Bonar, Esq.	0	10	0	<i>a</i> Miss Drabwell	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. D. Boutflower	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Miss Du Buisson	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. Ed. Bowen	0	10	6	<i>a</i> T. Durley, Esq.	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. C. Bowles	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mrs. Dykes	5	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. D. C. Boyd	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. M. S. Edgell	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. J. Braithwaite	5	0	0	<i>a</i> W. Edwards, Esq., sen. ..	0	12	0
<i>a</i> W. F. Browell, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> E. S. Ely, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss A. Brown	0	10	0	<i>a</i> Rev. W. Farrer	2	2	0

Carried forward £37 10 0 |

Carried forward £96 5 6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	96	5	6	Brought forward	156	3	0
aRev. M. Fearnley (1881-82)	1	10	0	aLibrary of Congress ..	0	10	6
aG. Flashman, Esq. ..	0	10	0	aLibrary of Parliament ..	0	10	6
aC. A. Flint, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. James Little ..	1	0	0
aP. Forbes, Esq. ..	2	2	0	aMiss Lockwood ..	0	10	6
aThe Right Rev. the Bishop of Fredericton ..	1	1	0	aRev. R. Lovett ..	0	10	6
aT. Gaffikin, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. C. B. Lowe (1881-82) ..	1	1	0
aRev. J. Gamble ..	1	0	0	aM. Macfie, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. W. Gibb, M.A. ..	0	10	6	aLuke Mackie, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. A. G. Girdlestone ..	0	10	6	aRev. E. M. McCready ..	1	1	6
aRev. R. B. Girdlestone ..	1	1	0	aRev. A. Martyn ..	1	1	0
aCaptain Goldsmid ..	0	10	6	aRev. J. Martin ..	0	10	0
aMiss Gordon ..	0	10	0	aT. B. Martin, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aK. Gotto, Esq. (donation) ..	10	0	0	aH. J. Martyn, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aBaker Green, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aR. Mellors, Esq. ..	1	1	6
aT. Greenhalgh, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. L. F. Moran ..	1	1	0
aA. B. Grimaldi, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aW. H. Morrell, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aC. S. Grimwade, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. H. Nelson ..	0	10	0
aMajor Grover, R.E. ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Newcomb ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. R. Guinness ..	0	10	6	aY. Newman, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. Gwyther ..	0	10	6	aRev. J. S. Nightingale ..	0	10	0
aRev. A. H. Hamilton ..	0	10	0	aRev. A. C. Northey (1881-82)	1	4	0
aJ. Hankinson, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. G. D. W. Ommaney ..	1	0	0
aMiss C. Hardy ..	1	0	0	aJ. H. Parker, Esq. ..	5	0	0
aMessrs. Harrison & Stevenson, per Rev. R. Steel ..	2	0	0	aRev. H. S. Patterson (collection)	2	6	0
aLieut.-Col. Hebbert ..	0	10	0	aPeabody Institute ..	0	10	6
aRev. Prof. Hechler ..	0	10	6	Rev. Dr. Pearson (donation) ..	1	1	0
aD. Hebbert, Esq. (1881-82)	2	2	0	Miss Sophia Pearson (donation)	0	10	6
aJ. Hilton, Esq. ..	3	0	0	aRev. Charles Penny ..	0	10	6
aG. F. Hooper, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. W. F. Pierson ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Hopkins ..	1	1	0	aRev. E. V. Pigott ..	1	1	0
aThomas Hughes, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Pitcairn ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Huntly ..	1	1	0	aR. Powell, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. A. A. Isaacks ..	0	10	6	aMrs. B. Tidd Pratt ..	0	5	0
aRev. Canon Jarratt ..	1	1	0	aRev. E. S. Prout ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. F. Jeffcock (1880-82)	3	3	0	aCol. Puget (1881-82) ..	2	2	0
aJ. Johnstone, Esq. ..	0	12	0	aThos. Pullman, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aN. S. Joseph, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. L. F. Purcell ..	1	1	0
aH. H. Kelsey, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aMarshall Reid, Esq. ..	0	12	4
aG. A. King, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. A. M. Rendell ..	1	1	0
aW. H. Kirberger, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. Dr. Ridding (donation)	10	0	0
aRev. A. F. Kirkpatrick ..	1	1	0	aRev. J. Robberds ..	1	1	0
aRev. J. G. Kitchin (1879-80)	1	0	0	aA. J. Robertson, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aF. Lamb, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aW. Ross, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aF. Lambert, Esq. ..	2	2	0	aL'Abbe de Saint Aignan ..	0	5	0
aG. H. Lawrence, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aF. Sandford, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aR. E. Leader, Esq. ..	0	10	0	aRev. Prof. Sayce ..	1	0	0
aA. H. Lees, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aThe Misses Scott ..	1	1	0
aH. Leibstein, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. J. K. Scott ..	0	10	6
aRev. C. G. Leicester ..	1	1	0	aRev. W. H. Sewell ..	0	10	0
" " (donation)	0	10	6	aRev. E. J. Selwyn ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Leith ..	1	1	0	aMiss Waldo Sibthorpe ..	1	1	0
aCaptain Lewis ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Skipworth ..	1	1	0
				aRev. A. C. Smith ..	0	10	0
				aMiss Standidge (1881-82) ..	0	10	0
Carried forward	£156	3	0	Carried forward	£216	15	4

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	216	15	4	Brought forward	340	10	4
aRev. B. J. Stanhope ..	1	1	0	aMiss Watson (1881-82) ..	1	1	0
aRev. T. Sterhouse ..	0	10	0	aCapt. C. M. Watson, R.E. ..	0	10	6
aRev. T. Stephens ..	0	10	6	aMiss D. Way (donation) ..	1	1	0
aRev. F. Stevenson ..	0	10	0	aA. Westwood, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aW. H. Strawe, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. J. W. Whigham..	0	10	6
aH. C. Stuart, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aE. Whymper, Esq. ..	5	0	0
aCol. W. Stuart ..	1	1	0	aF. D. W. Wickham, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aRev. Canon Summer ..	0	10	6	aW. Winsford, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aMiss Louisa Summer ..	0	10	6	aRev. H. Wilson ..	1	1	0
Lady Tite (donation)..	2	2	0	aJ. G. Wilson, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aJ. Thomas Esq. (per Rev. J. King) ..	1	0	0	aH. K. Wood, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aJ. W. Tonge, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. C. W. Worledge..	0	10	6
aA. Vidal, Esq... ..	1	0	0	aLady C. W. Wynn ..	0	10	6
aT. J. Waddingham, Esq. ..	2	2	0	aYale College ..	0	10	6
aMiss Wakeham ..	5	5	0	aGen. Sir H. Yule, K.G.C.I., C.B., R.E. ..	1	0	0
„ „ (donation) ..	105	0	0	Do. do. do. (donation)	1	0	0
aWatkinson Library ..	0	10	6				
Carried forward	£340	10	4	Total ..	£357	8	10

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

Acknowledged in detail under special heading.

	£	s.	d.
Aberdeen Ladies' Association ..	8	7	0
Bath ..	9	6	6
Brighton ..	9	14	6
Cardiff ..	35	0	6
Darlington ..	26	11	6
Edinburgh Ladies' Association ..			
Epsom ..	1	1	0
Guildford ..	9	19	6
Hitchin ..	5	5	0
Ledbury ..	1	18	0
Leeds (no list) ..	6	0	0
Manchester ..	4	4	0
Norwich ..	16	16	0
Reigate ..	2	2	0
Stroud ..	7	7	0
Weston-super-Mare ..	1	11	6
Lecture at Newark ..	4	0	0
Total ..	149	4	0
Donations and Subscriptions ..	357	8	10
„ Supplementary list, see p. 9 ..	15	5	6
Local Societies ..	33	1	3
	£554	19	7

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

ABERDEEN LADIES' ASSOCIATION.

June 14th, 1882.—By Cash £8 7s.

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
				Brought forward	4	12 6
Francis Edmond, Esq., LL.D.,				Rev. John Robson, D.D., 30,		
Kingswells	1	0 0		Carden-place	0	10 6
Mrs. Edmond, Kingswells ..	1	0 0		Rev. Alexander M. Baunatyne,		
Geo. Milne, Esq. McCombie's-				5, Rubislaw-place	0	10 6
court	0	10 6		Alexander D. Milne, 40, Albyn-		
Mr. Robert Gerard, 97, Union-				place	0	10 6
street	0	10 6		Dr. Stewart Heathcot	0	10 6
C. G. Burnett, Esq., Old Aber-				Miss Fenwick Bisset, 11,		
deen	0	10 6		Albyn-terrace	2	0 0
Mr. James Henderson, 1,						
Carden-terrace	0	10 6			8	14 6
Rev. W. D. Scott, 71, Spring-				Less Collector's Fee	0	7 6
bank-terrace	0	10 6				
Carried forward	£4	12 6			£8	7 0

BATH.

June 9, 1882.—By Cash £9 6s. 6d.

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
				Brought forward	6	16 0
aRev. H. H. Methuen..	0	10 0		aJohn Johnston, Esq. ..	0	10 0
aMrs. Staniforth ..	1	1 0		aRev. Prebendary Wood ..	0	10 6
aMrs. Christie ..	1	1 0		aGeneral Eden ..	0	10 6
aRev. T. P. Methuen ..	1	1 0		aRev. H. H. Winwood..	0	10 0
aRev. J. Buttanshaw ..	0	10 6		aMiss Darlot ..	0	5 0
aMrs. Buttanshaw ..	0	10 6		aRev. R. Drummond ..	0	10 0
aCharles Timins, Esq. ..	0	10 6				
aMiss Holme ..	0	10 6			9	12 0
aMiss A. Holme ..	0	10 6		Less Commission	0	5 6
aJohn S. Bartram, Esq. ..	0	10 6				
Carried forward	£6	16 0			£9	6 6

BRIGHTON.

June 10, 1882.—By Cash £9 14s. 6d.

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
The Venerable Archdeacon				John Gadsby, Esq. ..	2	2 0
Hannah	1	1 0		Rev. T. Calvert..	0	10 6
Rev. W. S. Fowler	1	1 0		Mrs. Soames	5	0 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CARDIFF.

	£	s.	d.
By Cash.—May 24th	23	2	0
„ June 9th	11	18	6
Dec. 26, 1881.—F. G. Evans, Esq., Tynmunt House Cardiff.—			
<i>a</i> for 1880	1	1	0
<i>a</i> for 1880	1	1	0

Cheque received December 26th, 1881; this amount is entered, page 2, list of subscriptions, April *Star*, 1881, 1882, as £2 2s. annually, which is incorrect.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
For year 1881.			Brought forward		
<i>a</i> Messrs. Powell, Duffryn & Co.,			14	14	0
Bute Docks, Cardiff.	1	1			
<i>a</i> Messrs. D. Davis & Sons, Bute					
Docks, Cardiff	1	1	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Messrs. Jones, Heard & Ingram,					
Bute Docks, Cardiff	1	1	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rees Jones, Esq., Hulswell-					
terrace, Cardiff	1	1	0		
<i>a</i> John Fry, Hill-side, Penarth	1	1	0	2	0
<i>a</i> Bickerton Pratt, Esq., 16, Park-					
place, Cardiff.	0	10	6	0	0
<i>a</i> Richard Cory, Esq., Hulswell-					
terrace, Cardiff	1	1	0	1	1
<i>a</i> John Cory, Esq., Jaindre					
Hall, Castletown, Cardiff ..	2	2	0	1	1
<i>a</i> Theodore Jachell, Esq.,					
Nantyglo, Mon.	0	10	6	0	10
1882.					
<i>a</i> Robert Hooper, Esq., Park-					
place, Cardiff.	0	10	6	0	10
<i>a</i> Messrs. Thomas & Riches,					
Bute Docks, Cardiff.	1	1	0	0	10
<i>a</i> Chas. M. Jacobs, Esq., Tan-					
field Villa, Penarth	1	1	0	0	10
Andrew Davies, Esq., M.D.,					
Cadez House, Halswell-terrace,					
Cardiff	1	1	0	0	10
<i>a</i> John Moore, Esq., Windsor-					
place, Cardiff.	0	10	6	0	10
<i>a</i> Rev. Chas. Jas. Thompson,					
M.A., St. John's Vicarage,					
Cardiff	0	10	6	0	10
<i>a</i> W. P. James, Esq., Romilly-					
crescent, Canton, Cardiff ..	0	10	6	0	10
Carried forward	£14	14	0	£26	13
					6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

ABERGAVENNY.

1882.	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Crawshay Bailey, Maindiff-court	0	10	6
aRev. J. Rees Jenkins, M.A., Woodstock House	0	10	6
	£1	1	0

NEWPORT, MON.

1882.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aThe Right Hon. Lord Tredegar, Tredegar-park ..	1	1	0	Brought forward	5	15	6
aOctavius Morgan, Esq., the Friars	1	1	0	Sale of January <i>Quarterly Statement</i>	0	2	6
aThomas Cordes, Esq., Bryn Glas	1	1	0	Donation from Miss Horncastle, Caerau-park, Newport ..	0	5	0
aHenry John Davis, Esq., Tivoli	0	10	3	Sale of Water Basins, Map—			
aWilliam Graham, Esq., Oakfield, Caerau-park	0	10	6	J. E. Swindell, Castle, Oldswinford			
aF. L. Justice, Esq.	0	10	6	Young Men's Christian Association	1	3	0
aF. D. Roberts, Esq., C.E., The Grove	1	1	0				
Carried forward	£5	15	6		£7	6	0

DARLINGTON.

April 22, 1882.—By Cash £26 11s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
H. F. Pease, Esq.	1	1	0	J. W. Pease, Esq., M.P. ..	5	0	0
Mrs. G. Pease	10	0	0	Rev. T. F. Hodgson	0	10	6
A. Pease, Esq., M.P. ..	10	0	0				

EDINBURGH LADIES' AUXILIARY.

1882.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John J. Dalgeish, Esq., 8, Atholl-crescent, Edinburgh..	0	10	6	Brought forward	4	13	6
Mrs. Dalgleish, ditto	0	10	6	Mrs. Harvie Brown, Dunipace House, Larkhall	0	10	6
Miss Dalgleish, ditto	0	10	6	C. McVean, Woodside, Ashton, Cheshire	0	10	6
Rev. Dr. Stuart, 7, Northumberland-street, Edinburgh ..	0	10	6	John Macfie, 14, Hope-terrace, Whitehouse Loan, Edinburgh	0	10	6
Dr. Duncan, 8, Ainslie-place, Edinburgh	1	1	0	Dr. Craig Macdagan, 5, Coates-crescent, Edinburgh ..	0	10	6
Laurence Dalgleish, Esq., 22, Coates-crescent, Edinburgh..	0	10	6	Mrs. Lang and Miss Duncan, Lapswade	0	7	6
Mrs. Hastie, Lussar, Danfermline	1	0	0				
Carried forward	£4	13	6		£7	3	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

EPSOM.

May 17, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	£1	1s.
					£	s. d.
Rev. B. B. Bockett, M.A.	..	..	..	.. (Don.)	0	10 6
Mrs. Bockett	..	..	..	.. (Don.)	0	10 6

GUILDFORD.

1881-2 (to March 31).					£ s. d.		
	£	s.	d.		Brought forward		
Captain Campbell	..	..	0 10 6	Colonel Man	..	..	0 10 6
J. R. Capron, Esq.	..	..	0 10 6	Miss Mayo	..	..	0 10 6
Lieut.-Gen. E. A. Foord	..	..	0 10 6	Mrs. O'Connell	..	..	0 10 6
E. Futroye, Esq.	..	..	1 1 0	Rev. F. Paynter	..	..	0 10 6
H. Gardner, Esq.	..	..	0 10 6	R. J. Shepard, Esq.	..	..	0 10 6
Miss Hadden	..	..	1 1 0	D. Williamson, Esq.	..	..	0 10 6
Gen. Sir A. Laurence (2 years)	2	2	0	Mrs. W. Williamson	..	..	0 10 6
Carried forward	£5	6	0				£9 19 6

HITCHIN, HERTS.

March 30.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	£5	5s.
	£	s.	d.			£	s. d.
Mrs. Smyth, 1, The Limes, Station-road	..	..	0 10 6	Mr. Wm. Ransom, Fairfield	..	1	1 0
Mr. J. Gatward, Hitchin	..	..	0 10 6	Mr. J. H. Tuke, Bancroft	..	1	1 0
Mr. T. Priest, Ickleford, Hit- chin	..	..	0 10 6	Mr. F. Seebohm	..	1	1 0
				Mr. J. Pollard, High Down	..	0	10 6

LEDBURY.

June 3, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	£1	18s.
						£	s. d.
aRev. J. T. Smith	..	..	..	..	..	0	10 6
aRev. Canon Musgrave	..	..	..	..	..	0	10 6
aRev. F. S. Stooke Vaughan	..	..	..	..	..	0	10 6

MANCHESTER.

1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	..	£4	4s.
						£	s. d.
aRev. W. Stacke-Barnes	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 0
aG. W. Rigg, Esq.	..	..	..	..	..	0	10 6
aMrs. Gillmore	..	..	..	..	..	0	10 6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

NORWICH.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rev. Hinds Howell	0	10	6	Brought forward	9	19	6
E. K. Harvey, Esq.	1	1	0	Rev. W. Hudson	0	10	6
G. O. Eaton, Esq.	0	10	6	Rev. F. Hildyard	0	10	6
Rev. W. R. Collett	1	1	0	Mrs. Hildyard	0	10	6
A. T. Cockell, Esq.	0	10	6	J. J. Winter, Esq.	1	1	0
The Very Rev. the Dean of				Rev. R. B. P. Kidd	0	10	6
Norwich	2	2	0	H. S. Patteson, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. R. W. Kennion	1	1	0	R. Geldart, Esq.	0	10	6
Rev. W. N. Ripley	2	2	0	C. Dix, Esq.	0	10	6
Public Library	0	10	6	H. P. Beare, Esq. (donation) ..	1	1	0
Rev. G. A. Crookshank	0	10	6	Rev. W. F. Greeny	0	10	6
Carried forward	£9	19	6		£16	16	0

REIGATE.

May 17, 1832.—By Cash £2 2s.

	£	s.	d.
aA. Putney, Esq.	0	10	6
aF. R. Putney, Esq.	0	10	6
aJames Putney Esq.	0	10	6
aSamuel Putney. Esq.	0	10	6

STROUD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

June 12, 1882.—By Cash £7 7s.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
J. H. Carpenter, Esq., Chinn-			W. H. Marling, Esq., Stanley		
cross	0	10	House	1	1
S. J. Coley, Esq., High-street ..	0	10	T. S. Osborne, Esq., Lower		
W. Coule, Esq., Park House ..	0	10	Street	0	10
W. H. C. Fisher, Esq., Row-			Rev. R. G. Waller, Whitehall	0	10
croft.	0	10	Rev. Joseph Wilkinson Brims-		
James Harper, Esq., Ebbley. ..	0	10	combe	0	10
Thomas Lancaster, Esq., Bown-			L. W. Winterbotham, Esq.,		
ham House	1	1	Rowcroft	1	1
	0				

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

May 13, 1882.—By Cash £1 11s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.
aRev. D. Wheeler	0	10	6
aMiss M. S. Tomkins	0	10	6
aH. G. Tomkins	0	10	6

FROM JUNE 16TH TO JUNE 30TH.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aRev. D. M. Bynner	0	10	6	Brought forward	9	7	6
aMrs. Collison	1	1	0	aL'Abbé Lévesque	0	5	0
aMiss Copley	1	1	0	aJ. R. Mayfield, Esq.	1	1	0
aT. O. Dudfield, Esq.	0	10	6	aJohn Newton, Esq.	0	10	6
aLord Ebury	2	2	0	aRev. Josh. Priestley	0	10	0
aG. T. Edwards, Esq. ...	0	10	6	aA. B. Thorburn	1	1	0
aHon. Mr. Justice Fry	1	1	0	aRev. R. U. Todd	0	10	6
aJ. G. Gibbs, Esq.	1	1	0	aE. C. W. (donation)	1	0	0
aThomas L. Gooch, Esq.	1	10	0	aRev. Dr. Williams	1	0	0
Carried forward	£9	7	6		£15	5	6

Acknowledged in Detail under Special Heading.

							£	s.	d.
Bolton	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	15	9
Burnley	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	6
Cardiff	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11	6
Frore	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	15	0
Norwich	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	0
Taunton	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	15	6
							<hr/>		
Donations and subscriptions	..	..				..	33	1	3
							15	5	6
							<hr/>		
							£48	6	9

June 24.—By cash	..	..	..	£12	15s.	9d.
Collection, Bolton Parish Church, March 19th	..			8	11	3
Collection, St. Peter's, Huddersfield	..			5	5	0
Collection at Bolton Lecture	..			11	2	0
Tickets sold	..	..	..	3	5	0
Rev. W. S. Whyte	..	..	..	0	10	6
Mrs. Green	..	..	..	1	0	0
Miss Goulding	..	..	..	0	10	6
J. W. Taylor, Esq.	..	..	..	0	10	6
Mrs. Monk	..	..	..	0	10	6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

BURNLEY.

June 22nd.—By cash	..	..	..	..	£2	1s.	6d.
					£	s.	d.
Mr. F. J. Grant, Bank Parade	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
St. Paul's Sunday School, per Mr. W. L. Grant					0	10	6
Grammar School.							
Boys:—J. Hartley	..	..	..	2	0		
R. Clegg	..	..	..	2	0		
T. Sutcliffe	..	..	..	0	6		
F. E. Thornton	..	..	..	0	6		
J. Langfield Ward, Esq., M.A. (head master)	..			..	0	5	0
Mrs. Stroyan, Brunshaw	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

CARDIFF.

June 20th.—By cash	..	..	..	..	£1	11s.	6d.
					£	s.	d.
1881. Messrs. Coffin and Co.	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
1882. G. E. Robinson, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

FROME.

June 28th.—By cash	..	..	..	..	£8	15s.	
					£	s.	d.
F. C. Cockey, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
H. Cockey, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
G. Cockey, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	2	6
G. A. Daniel, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. W. E. Daniel	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
E. Flatman, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Rev. J. Horton	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Mr. Holroyd	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
H. C. Houston, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Mrs. Le Gros	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Miss Sewell	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
J. Tanner, Esq.	..	..	..	..	1	1	0
H. Thompson, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Miss Thompson	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Mr. Tonkin	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
J. W. D. T. Wickham, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0	10	6

NORWICH.

Jan. 19th.—By cash	..	..	..	..	£1	1s.	
„ 23rd.— „	..	..	..	..	£1	1s.	
					£	s.	d.
Rev. C. R. Manning	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Rev. H. Petley	..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Mrs. James Colman	..	..	..	..	1	1	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

TAUNTON.

June 24th.—By cash	..	..	..	£5 15s. 6d.
				£ s. d.
H. J. Badcock, Esq.	..	..	..	1 1 0
James Oram, Esq. ..	..	..	..	1 1 0
Edwin Sloper, Esq...	..	..	..	0 10 6
Rear-Admiral Johnson	..	..	..	0 10 6
Rev. Edward Wodehouse	..	..	..	0 10 6
Wm. Rawlinson, Esq.	..	..	..	0 5 0
Mrs. Isaac Badcock	..	..	..	0 5 0
Miss Garbett	..	..	..	0 5 0
Sums under..	..	..	..	0 7 0
Mrs. Wolff ..	..	..	..	1 0 0

LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

Held by the REV. H. GEAR.				Proceeds.
Place.		Date.		£ s. d.
Penarth..	..	Dec. 15th 1881	..	9 6 11
Cardiff ..	..	" 16th "	..	4 6 11
Freshwater	..	Jan. 19th, 1882	..	2 12 11
Lymington	..	" 20th "	..	14 15 3
Canterbury	..	Feb. 2nd "	..	16 4 4
Billericay	..	Mar. 23rd "	..	4 12 0
North Mymmsen	..	April 5th "	..	7 17 4
Saffron Walden	..	" 11th "	..	9 19 6
Birkenhead (2 Lectures)	..	" 17th "	..	7 14 11
Rochdale	..	" 18th "	..	5 10 6
Halifax ..	..	" 20th "	..	7 3 0
Newark (2 Lectures) ..	..	" 21st "	..	10 7 6
				<u>£90 11 1</u>

The following subscriptions are included in the above:—

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. St. Barbe	1	1	0
Rev. H. G. Rolt	2	2	0
Col. Horsley..	0	10	6
Rev. H. J. Newcombe	0	10	0
Edward Crossley	1	1	0
Mr. L. J. Crossley	1	1	0
Mrs. E. Crossley	1	0	0
John Bolton	1	1	0

LIST OF HONORARY SECRETARIES AND LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

- ALLOA : Rev. Alexander Bryson and Rev. Daniel M'Lean.
ABERDEEN : Rev. Prof. Milligan, D.D. *Hon. Sec.* Ladies' Association, Miss Mary Forbes.
ADELAIDE : Rev. W. R. Fletcher.
AMBLESIDE : Rev. H. B. Rawnsley, Wray Vicarage.
ANSTRUTHER : W. H. Mackintosh, Esq.
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BATH : Rev. T. P. Methuen.
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BIRKENHEAD : Rev. J. T. Kingsmill, St. Aidan's College.
BIRMINGHAM : Rev. F. Dell.
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BLACKBURN : Herbert Birch, Esq., and Rev. A. B. Grosart.
BLAIRGOWRIE : W. S. Soutar, Esq.
BODMIN : S. Hicks, Esq.
BOLTON : George Monk, Esq.
BRECON : Richard Mills, Esq.
BRIGHTON : Rev. C. E. Douglass.
BROMLEY : Rev. W. J. Devereux.
BURNLEY : Alfred Strange, Esq.
BURY : *Hon. Treas.*—Rev. Canon J. Hornby ; *Hon. Sec.*—Rev. D. Walmsley.
CAMBRIDGE : W. M. Hicks, Esq., M.A., St. John's College ; G. T. Bettany, Esq., M.A., Gonville and Caius.
CANADA : Toronto.—Subscriptions are received by the Hon. G. W. Allan.
CARDIFF : W. Adams, Esq., Cambridge House, Park Place, Cardiff.
CHELMSFORD : Rev. G. B. Hamilton.
CHELTENHAM : Dr. E. Wilson.
CHESTER : Rev. J. Davidson.
CHIPPENHAM : A. T. Keary, Esq.
CITY AND COUNTY OF CORK : H. S. Perry, Esq., Monkstown.
CLIFTON and BRISTOL : Rev. C. H. Wallace.
COLCHESTER : Rev. N. P. Gepp.
CROYDON : J. W. Janson, Esq.
DARLINGTON : J. P. Pritchett, Esq.
DEVONPORT : J. Venning, Esq.

AGENTS.

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DUNDEE: *Hon. Treas.*—Alex. Scott, Esq.
DUNFERMLINE : Rev. A. Graham, Crossgates.
EASTBOURNE : Rev. H. R. Whelpton.
EDINBURGH : Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., William Dickson, Esq.,
F.R.S.E., and T. B. Johnston, Esq., F.R.G.S., 16, So. St. Andrew Street.
EPSOM : Miss Hislop.
EXETER : Rev. Prebendary Acland, Broad Clyst, and Rev. W. David.
FAIRFIELD : S. J. A. Barrow-Clough.
FALMOUTH, for the County of Cornwall : A. Lloyd Fox.
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GAZA : J. G. Pickard, Esq.
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M'Grigor, Esq., LL.D.
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MELROSE : Ralph Dunn, Esq.
MONTROSE : Mr. Mackie.
MORPETH : Dr. Robinson.

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 RICHMOND, SURREY :
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 " Mr. Albert Thompson, 24, Elliot Street.
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TORQUAY : Mr. E. L. Seely.
UPPINGHAM : Mr. J. Hawthorn.
WYEMOUTH : Mr. H. Wheeler, St. Mary Street.
WESTON : Mr. Robbins, High Street.
WHITBY : Mr. Reed.
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YORK : Mr. William Sessions.

LIST OF DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

JULY 1ST, 1882, TO SEPTEMBER 19TH, 1882.

a denotes Annual Subscriber.

* * If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> J. Allen, Esq.	1	1	0	Brought forward	55	7	0
<i>a</i> H. N. Angus, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Col. M. R. Haig	1	0	0
<i>a</i> M. E. Autran	0	10	6	<i>a</i> J. F. Hayward, Esq.	2	0	6
<i>a</i> C. Ashton, Esq.	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. R. Henderson	0	10	0
<i>a</i> T. H. Aston, Esq.	0	5	0	<i>a</i> Wm. Hobbs, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. Canon Babington	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. B. Hodgkin, Esq.	2	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Babington	1	1	0	<i>a</i> W. H. Huddleston, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> W. Barbey, Esq.	3	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. H. Irving	0	10	0
<i>a</i> G. Bartram, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Johnson	2	2	6
<i>a</i> H. Bennett, Esq.	1	0	0	<i>a</i> P. Junor, Esq.	1	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. H. Bothamley	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. T. King	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Isaac Braithwaite, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Miss Ledsam	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Miss Bromby	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Miss Legg	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Miss Bromehead	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Hon. and Rev. A. Legge	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. J. Browell	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Col. Locock	5	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Brown	0	5	0	<i>a</i> Rev. W. MacGregor	5	0	0
<i>a</i> R. C. Clayton Brown, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Miss MacInnes	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. Bruce	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. E. R. Maephail (1881-82)	1	1	0
<i>a</i> G. Burns, Esq.	7	0	0	<i>a</i> R. B. Martin, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Burt	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. E. Maxwell	5	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. H. Cadell	1	1	0	<i>a</i> A. W. McDonell, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss Clay	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Prot. J. W. McGarvey	0	11	2
<i>a</i> Miss E. Coleridge	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. S. S. McLaren	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. W. Cooke	0	10	6	<i>a</i> C. Methuen, Esq.	2	2	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Corfe	1	1	0	<i>a</i> M. P. Moniquet, Esq.	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. M. B. Cowell	1	1	0	<i>a</i> The Misses Mure	1	0	0
<i>a</i> John Cowie, Esq.	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Sir Charles Nicholson	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Gen. Sir H. Daubency, K.C.B.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Sir Erasmus Ommaney	2	2	0
<i>a</i> T. Davies, Esq.	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. J. Ormiston (1881-82)	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Davis	2	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. W. Peterson	0	10	6
<i>a</i> W. Ellice, Esq.	4	4	0	<i>a</i> E. Powtress, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss Enderby	1	0	0	<i>a</i> F. Ridoutt, Esq.	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Evans (1881-82)	4	0	0	<i>a</i> The Very Rev. the Dean of Ripon.	1	0	0
<i>a</i> R. Reynolds Fox, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Lawson Robinson, Esq.	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Fremlin	2	0	0	<i>a</i> Miss Sargent	1	0	0
<i>a</i> W. Galbraith, Esq.	3	13	0	<i>a</i> Rev. G. H. Scott	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. J. B. Goldberg	1	1	0	<i>a</i> S. Scott, Esq.	2	2	0
<i>a</i> Cyril Graham, Esq.	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Miss Stephens	0	10	0
<i>a</i> T. Grant, Esq.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. Sterry, Esq.	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. E. T. Gregory	0	10	6				

Carried forward £55 7 0

Carried forward £105 10 8

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	105	10	8	Brought forward	115	2	8
aJ. P. Stillwell, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aMiss Weld ..	0	10	6
aW. Street, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. H. H. Westmore ..	1	1	0
aJ. G. Strickland, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aRev. W. Wickes ..	0	10	0
aJohn Tennant, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aMiss M. A. Wight ..	2	2	0
aRev. R. A. Tindall ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Willis ..	1	1	0
aMiss Vansittart ..	1	0	0	aJ. S. Wilson, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aC. T. Varley, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Witherby (1881-82) ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. H. Walter ..	1	5	0	aMrs. Worsley ..	1	1	0
aT. Todd Walton, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aJ. W. Wright, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aR. T. Webb, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aW. Young, Esq. ..	2	2	0
Carried forward	£115	2	8	Total	£126	11	2

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

Acknowledged in detail under special heading.

	£	s.	d.
Bath.. ..	1	11	0
Birkenhead ..	5	14	7
Chelmsford ..	1	1	0
Dublin ..			
Exeter ..	4	14	0
Lichfield ..	0	15	0
Manchester ..	7	17	6
Sydney ..	3	3	0
Weston-super-Mare ..	2	12	6
	27	8	7
Donations and Subscriptions ..	126	11	2
Lectures and Meetings ..	16	16	9
By Maps and Memoirs ..	287	5	0
Books, &c. ..	21	5	2
From other sources.. ..	3	5	10
	£482	12	6

BATH.

July 21, 1882.—By Cash ..	£1 11s.
	£ s. d.
Rev. C. R. Davy (Don.) ..	1 1 0
Rev. T. Hayes ..	0 10 0

BIRKENHEAD.

Aug. 19, 1882.—By Cash ..	£5 14s. 7d.
	£ s. d.
Rev. Canon Feilden ..	0 10 6
Rev. R. W. Prichard ..	0 10 6
Rev. P. R. Robin ..	2 2 0
J. P. Hargreaves, Esq. ..	0 10 6
H. Bell, Esq., jun. ..	1 0 0
Samuel Still, Esq. ..	1 1 0
Rev. J. T. Kingsmill ..	0 10 6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

CHELMSFORD.

July 24, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	£1 1s.
					£ s. d.
Rev. Henry Elwell (Don.)	..	..	..	..	0 10 6
Rev. Charles Taylor	..	..	..	..	0 10 6

DUBLIN.

The following names have been received :—

					£ s. d.
Rev. Maxwell Close	..	..	..	..	2 0 0
Denis Crofton, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0 10 0

EXETER.

Aug. 30, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	£4 14s.
					£ s. d.
Rev. L. P. D. Acland (for 1881-82)	..	..	..	..	2 2 0
Canon Cook (for 1881-82)..	..	..	..	..	2 2 0
Miss Hughes (Don.)	..	..	..	..	0 10 0

LICHFIELD.

Aug. 24, 1882.—By Cash	..	..	..	..	15s.
					£ s. d.
Rev. G. Poole	..	..	..	..	0 5 0
F. Hinckley, Esq.	..	..	..	..	0 10 0

MANCHESTER.

Sept. 12, 1882.—By Cash £7 17s. 6d.

Omitted in April No.

Dec. 31, 1881.

					£ s. d.
aRev. W. H. Rogers, D.D.	..	..	..	..	1 1 0
aRev. G. W. Reynolds	..	..	..	..	0 10 6

For £30 16s. 2d. read £31 16s. 2d.

Omitted in July No.

aH. B. Jackson, Esq.	..	..	..	..	1 1 0
H. B. Jackson, Esq. (Don.)	..	..	..	..	1 1 0

					£ s. d.						£ s. d.
J. W. Keeling, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0	aJ. Alsopp, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
aRev. W. Laycock	..	..	0	10	6	aRichard Taylor, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
aRev. H. S. Byeth	..	..	0	10	6	aF. H. Leedham, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
aPrincipal Greenwood..	..	..	1	1	0	aT. Chorlton, Esq.	..	..	0	10	6
aRev. A. E. Robinson ..	..	..	1	1	0						

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

NORWICH.

	£	s.	d.
Two Lectures delivered by J. Rose, Esq., on Sept. 20th, 1882	14	0	9

SYDNEY.

Aug. 25, 1882.—By Cash	£3	3s.	
W. Wright, Esq.	1	1	0
Mrs. Hugh Dixon	1	1	0
Mrs. John Kent	1	1	0

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

	£	s.	d.
July 13, 1882.—By Cash	1	1	0
Aug. 8, 1882.—By Cash	1	11	6
	£2	12	6
Miss A. Rodham	1	1	0
T. Lardner Green	0	10	6
Mrs. Cookson	0	10	6
Weston-super-Mare Institute	0	10	6

LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

1882.	£	s.	d.
July 19.—Collection at the Drawing Room			
Meeting at Mrs. Greer's	5	5	0
„ 26.—Collection by the Right Rev. the			
Lord Bishop of Nelson	6	0	0
Aug. 2.—Leicester, Collection	2	4	2
Sept. 14.—Chelmsford, Collection	3	7	7
	£16	6	9

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

FROM SEPTEMBER 20TH TO SEPTEMBER 25TH, 1882.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
aW. Ferguson, Esq. (1880-82)	3	3	0
aMiss Hardinge	1	1	0
aW. Quartier Ewart, Esq.	1	0	0
aW. Ewart, Esq., M.P.	1	0	0
aRev. F. F. Goe	1	1	0
aRev. A. Harland	0	10	6
aMiss Forster	1	1	0
aMrs. Gugg	1	1	0
aDr. Harper	1	1	0
J. H. Fox, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss Pim	2	2	0
Miss Leach	0	10	0
"Omega"	10	0	0
H. H. Morrish	0	10	6
Rev. W. H. Evans	1	0	0
Miss Sawyer	0	10	6
E. G. Wade	1	1	0
"R" (don.)	0	10	6

PLYMOUTH.

Sept. 22, 1882.—By Cash	£5	4s.
Rev. J. E. Risk, M.A.	0	10 6
H. B. S. Woodhouse, Esq.	1	1 0
Mrs. Woodhouse	0	10 6
Collected	3	2 0

GREENOCK.

Sept. 29, 1882.—By Cash	£24	1s.	0d.
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Robert Little, Esq.	1	1	0
William McLure, Esq.	1	1	0
Alexander Scott, Esq.	1	1	0
Abram, Lyle, Esq.	1	1	0
James Morton, Esq.	1	1	0
Edward Blackmore, Esq.	1	1	0
Robert Binnie, Esq.	1	1	0
D. McDougall, Esq.	1	1	0
Thomas Prentice, Esq.	1	1	0
D. MacEachran, Esq.	1	1	0
John M. Hutcheson, Esq.	1	1	0
Robert Kerr, Esq.	1	1	0
Alex. Currie, Esq.	1	1	0
Mrs. Andrew Carmichael	1	1	0
Donald McDonald, Esq.	1	1	0
Colin S. Caird, Esq.	0	10	6
D. D. Adamson, Esq.	0	10	6
George R. McDougall, Esq.	0	10	0
J. H. Carmichael, Esq.	0	10	0
Thos. Carmichael, Esq.	1	1	0
John Marquis, Esq.	1	1	0
James Miller, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. Alex. Walker	1	0	0

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